

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 08234852 9

Abraham Lincoln *and new Constitutional* **Governments**

Bartow A. Ulrich



THE
NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

PRESENTED BY

Bartow A. Ulrich

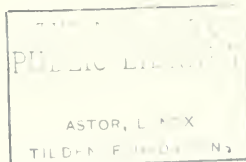
August 18, 1921.

Copy 2

Al
11/13/19



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation





PRESIDENT ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1865

Abraham Lincoln *and* New Constitutional Governments

Third Part

Containing chapter on Washington
and Lincoln, showing what they ac-
complished in forming and perpetu-
ating constitutional government on a
republican basis

BARTOW A. ULRICH

Press Club of Chicago

34232A

1700 4/23/75

201 of

1000

Dedication

To My
ALMA MATER,
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

This book, "Abraham Lincoln and New Constitutional Governments," is lovingly dedicated.

To her I owe the unalloyed inspiration of loyalty and devotion to the land of my birth, the United States of America, the brightest star in the constellation of nations, where rational, enlightened and Christian liberty controls.

I wish that all native-born sons of foreigners, as well as sons of citizens, and those from abroad making this their home, could have the same spirit of intelligent patriotism instilled into their minds by studying in this, or some similar institution of learning in the United States of America. It would be a sure preventative of disloyalty and antagonism to the best system of government known so far to history.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Barton A. Ulrich". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name and class information.

Law Class, 1864.

Copyright, 1920

By

BARTOW A. ULRICH

INTRODUCTION

This book is a continuation of my former book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," a volume of four hundred pages published in 1916, during the World War, though commenced prior to 1914. The last nation that had adopted a republican form of government was Portugal, and I had its constitution translated and used with other modern constitutions.

Now there have been formed a number of other constitutions which have been collected and included in this third part. As others are obtainable they will be sent if desired to the purchasers of this book at a slight additional cost to cover their publication.

The object of both books is to demonstrate the advantages which should obtain, if properly administered, of a strictly representative form of government as definitely set forth in our constitution, in place of a personal or monarchical form of government like those recently overthrown in Central Europe.

The further purpose is to instil into the minds of those needing reliable information on this matter, now living in this country, and those coming from other lands who expect to remain here, a proper understanding of the fundamental principles incorporated in the Constitution, and how they should be applied and adhered to by great corporations and labor classes, as well as the general public.

If citizens abuse the privileges extended to those employed in commercial enterprises of all classes, under our liberal form of government, which lacks the autocratic and iron fist method of imperialistic governments it is no fault of the form of government. Officials who administer the affairs of government periodically are elected by the people, who have the right to exercise universal suffrage.

An outline of the characters of two of our greatest statesmen is included in this book as models to pattern after in future, Washington and Lincoln.

No nation has achieved more in the same length of time and produced a larger amount of universal prosperity than the United States of America under its present republican institutions. It is for those now citizens, and those who willingly become citizens, as we do not make citizens by force, to preserve our constitution in its integrity and carry out honestly its fundamental principles, as well as to guard it with all our ability, against all enemies from within, as well as from without.

If the author has been able to ward off, or counteract, some of the baneful influences which threaten the existence of our institutions in various ways, he will have accomplished something for the benefit of the citizenship of the nation.

The first and second part, as well as the third part, of my work on government, should be studied and references examined, to obtain a comprehensive view of the subject.

BARTOW A. ULRICH.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been extremely difficult to obtain new and reliable material for this book, covering the governments of the old world and incidents relating to present conditions in Europe. The author has had to rely upon "The Associated Press" reports more than to any other source, for which he wishes to express his obligations as well as thanks. Through the tireless labor of this efficient association, he has kept in touch with events transpiring daily in all parts of the world, and has been compelled to use this information freely in order to facilitate his work.

"The Empire Press Bureau of Great Britain" has also been a source of information, and I wish to extend my thanks to it, as well as the "Review of Reviews," "The Nation," "The Literary Digest," the "Hearst" papers, the "Chicago Daily Tribune," which I have taken and read for fifty-five years; the "Chicago Evening Journal," the "Chicago Evening Post," the "Chicago Daily News," also the "New York Times," and "Louisville Courier-Journal." I am also indebted to Prof. J. J. Zmrhal, who recently returned from a visit to the Czecho-Slovak republic, and is at present writing a series of articles of great interest for the "Chicago Evening Journal," which are used in part by consent of the writer.

BARTOW A. ULRICH.

CONTENTS.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

U. S. Declaration of Independence.....	1
China's Declaration of Independence.....	5
United States of Europe.....	5
Irish Declaration of Independence.....	7
Senate Stand for Irish Freedom.....	8
Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence.....	10
Constitution of the German Republic.....	13
Russian Soviet Constitution.....	44
Czecho-Slovak Constitution.....	60
Declaration of Paris.....	82
Honoring the Constitution.....	83
Eighteenth Amendment.....	86
League of Nations.....	91
Nineteenth Amendment.....	93
The New Earth.....	94
The True Light.....	100

CHAPTER II.

Changing Monarchy to Democracy.....	103
Russia	108
Cause of Bolshevism.....	110
The Remedy.....	111

CHAPTER III.

Germany	134
---------------	-----

CHAPTER IV.

Washington and Lincoln.....	161-164
Gen. Robert E. Lee.....	165-166
Cost of Revolution and Civil War.....	167-168
Cost of World War.....	169
Italian Heroes Reach Tokyo.....	170-171
Prospect of Peace in China.....	172-173
Poland and Her Ruler.....	174-177
Jugo-Slavia	177
Empire of Great Britain.....	178-188
Egyptian Delegation	189
Canada	190-191
Newspapers of Great Britain.....	192
Persia a Republic.....	193
World Tribunal	194
Czecko-Slovakia	195-197
General Wrangel	198
Execution of Czar and Family.....	199-200
Henry Ford (Goes Back to Pre-War Prices).....	201-203

United States of Russia.....	204
Labor Party to Remove Funds.....	205
Reviews and Letters.....	207-227
Bartow A. Ulrich.....	228
August Louis Ulrich (Father of B. A. Ulrich).....	229
Johann Heinrich Ulrich, grandfather of B. A. Ulrich.....	231

PART I. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Preface	vii
---------------	-----

CHAPTER I.

First Meeting With Abraham Lincoln.....	1
Carl Schurz on Lincoln's Personal Appearance.....	3
Peter Vredenburg's Reminiscences.....	4
Fourth of July in Heidelberg.....	4
Stephen A. Douglas.....	5
Lincoln On Temperance.....	5
The Little Still-house.....	6
Lincoln On the Liquor Question.....	7
Called the Petty Practitioner of a Petty Town.....	8
The Lincoln-Shields "Duel".....	9
The Springfield Bar.....	11
Lincoln's Rise From Obscurity	11
Lincoln and Douglas.....	12
Horace White's Recollections.....	13
Personal Appearance of Douglas.....	14
Lincoln's Associates at Springfield.....	16

CHAPTER II.

Organization of the Republican Party.....	19
Founded On the Declaration of Independence.....	19
State Fair at Springfield, October, 1854.....	19
The Name "Republican".....	20
Illinois Editors and the Nebraska Bill.....	21
Editors at Decatur Advised by Lincoln.....	22
Lincoln Declines to Be a Candidate For Office.....	23
Pennsylvania Editors Meet at Pittsburg.....	23
Anti-Nebraska Convention at Bloomington, 1856.....	24
Call For a National Convention.....	25
First Republican County Convention.....	26
Resolutions of the Bloomington Convention.....	27
The "Lost Speech".....	28
Delegates at the Bloomington Convention.....	29
The Bloomington Ticket.....	31
"Deacon" Tyrell.....	32
Republican Meeting In Rock Island.....	32
"Germans Mostly Anti-Christians and Republicans".....	33

The National Election of 1856.....	33
Lincoln's Address at Chicago.....	34
Anniversary of the Republican Party.....	35

CHAPTER III.

Chicago National Republican Convention, 1860.....	37
Lincoln Accepts the Nomination.....	38
Stephen A. Douglas.....	39
Douglas Sustains Lincoln.....	40
Celebration of the Douglas Centennial in Chicago.....	42

CHAPTER IV.

Secession Cabal at Washington.....	45
Jefferson Davis and Secession.....	47
Graft In the National Government.....	51
Lincoln's Characteristics.....	52

CHAPTER V.

Events of the War.....	55
Fort Sumter.....	59
President Lincoln's Proclamation Calling for Troops.....	59
The Cabinets of Lincoln and Davis Compared.....	61

CHAPTER VI.

Colonel Ellsworth and the Marshall House Tragedy.....	67
Last Reunion of the Ellsworth Zouaves.....	74
Poem Written at the Time of Ellsworth's Death.....	70
Poem Written at the Commencement of the Civil War.....	75

CHAPTER VII.

Lincoln Intuition and Character.....	79
Farewell Address at Springfield.....	82
First Message to Congress, July 4, 1861.....	82
Need of Preparation.....	83
The Call For Troops.....	84
The Draft Riots.....	85
Vallandigham's Arrest.....	86

CHAPTER VIII.

General McClellan and General Grant.....	89
Lincoln Praises Grant.....	90
Meade Reproved.....	91
The Kind of Whiskey Grant Drank Good For Others.....	91
Lincoln Again Praises Grant.....	92
Lincoln's Humanity.....	93

CHAPTER IX.

The Trent Affair.....	97
The Treaty of Ghent.....	98

Lincoln's Desire For Reconciliation.....	99
Thanksgiving Proclamation, 1863.....	100
The Gettysburg Address.....	100
Proclamation of Thanksgiving For Union Victories.....	101
Lincoln's Faith In God.....	101
National Fast Day, 1861.....	102
Belief In Prayer.....	103
The Question of Slavery.....	104

CHAPTER X.

Influence of West Point On Democracy.....	109
College Training Versus the Declaration of Independence.....	110

CHAPTER XI.

Emancipation of the Negro In the United States and Other Countries	117
Ambition of Jefferson Davis and Other Southern Leaders.....	118
Northern Leaders Stood For Liberty and Union.....	119
The Nations Abolish Slavery.....	120
Czar Alexander II. and the Emancipation of the Serfs.....	122
Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.....	124
Negro Fellowship League Celebrates.....	127
Reminiscences of the Rebel Conspiracy to Burn Chicago.....	127

CHAPTER XII.

Thesis on Government Used as Campaign Document in 1864.....	129
The National Republican Convention of 1864.....	129
A Lincoln Story—"More Light and Less Noise".....	130
The Discontented Four Hundred.....	131
Letter to Greeley.....	131

CHAPTER XIII.

The Presidential Campaign of 1864—An Original Campaign Document	133
Speech Before the Athens Union League.....	139
New Year's Address, 1865.....	142

CHAPTER XIV.

Last Interview With Lincoln.....	145
Counting the Electoral Vote.....	146
Lincoln's Response to the Committee of Notification.....	147

CHAPTER XV.

President Lincoln Enters Richmond.....	149
Capture of Jefferson Davis.....	150
Assassination of President Abraham Lincoln.....	151

PART II. CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Preface	i
---------------	---

CHAPTER I.

Comparison of Different Forms of Government	155
---	-----

CHAPTER II.

Representative Democracy	157
Divine Right of Kings	160

CHAPTER III.

The Imperial Trust	163
Wacchter's Project of a Federation of the States of Europe	165
The Passing of Royalty	167

CHAPTER IV.

The New Representative Democracy	169
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

Events Leading to the Birth of the Nation	175
Adoption of the Constitution	177
Powers of the Government	178
De Tocqueville On the American Judiciary	180
Constituent and Law-Making Power	181
Chief Justice Marshall On the Judicial Power	182
Lincoln and the Dred Scott Decision	186
The "Grandfather Clause"	187
Cabinet Officers and Congress	189
Power of the Executive	192
The Referendum	192
The Civil Code of Switzerland	193
Stability of Our Constitution	194
Part of Washington's Farewell Address	195

CHAPTER VI.

Criticism On Constitution	197
State and National Control	200
Department of Agriculture	201
Letter of H. D. Sackett on Forest Taxation in the U. S.	202
Mormonism	199
Conservation Applied to Children	206
Limitation of State Constitution	211

CHAPTER VII.

National vs. State Sovereignty	213
Reconciliation	219
Growth of the South	218

CHAPTER VIII.

Causes Which Led to the Rebellion.....	221
Honorable Robert T. Lincoln's Letter.....	223
Abraham Lincoln, Loyal to the Constitution.....	223
Writ of Habeas Corpus Suspended.....	225
Influence of Our Constitution.....	225
The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine.....	227
Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine.....	229
Origin of the Step.....	230
Pan-American Growth.....	230
Mr. Hall On the New Monroe Doctrine Argued Before Political Science Academy.....	232
President Wilson's Latin-American Policy.....	232
We Must Not Retrograde.....	233

CHAPTER IX.

The Thirteenth Amendment.....	237
The Fourteenth Amendment.....	238
The Fifteenth Amendment.....	240
The Sixteenth Amendment.....	241
The Seventeenth Amendment.....	242
The Proposed Referendum.....	244
The Proposed Female Suffrage.....	244
The Proposed Federal Control of Child Labor.....	244
Hobson's Proposed Amendment For Nation-Wide Prohibition.....	244
Resolution to Extend Suffrage to Women.....	245

CHAPTER X.

Switzerland	247
The Swiss Federation.....	248
Constitution of the Swiss Federation.....	250
The Swiss Confederation.....	250
The Landgemeinde	256

CHAPTER XI.

Portugal	261
Revolution of the 5th of October, 1910, by A. C. Courage.....	263
Constitution of Portugal.....	263

CHAPTER XII.

France, a Republic.....	283
Constitution of France, 1791.....	284
The Brumaire Decree, 1799.....	285
Constitution of 1799.....	286
Senatus-Consultum, 1804.....	286
Napoleon Compared to Washington.....	287
Louis Napoleon.....	294
Imperial Policy of Louis Napoleon.....	291

Adolph Theirs on Modern France History.....	295
The Present Constitution.....	299
The Civil Code.....	307
Arstide Braind—Formed a New Ministry, 1916.....	308
President Poincare Predicts End of War.....	309
Anniversary of Franco-Prussian War.....	309
See New France Rising Out of War.....	311

CHAPTER XIII.

Constitution of Norway.....	315
Introduction by Peter B. Olson.....	315

OTHER CONSTITUTIONS.

China	333
Japan	336
German Government.....	339
Prussia	341
Ottoman Empire.....	370
New Zealand	386
Iceland	395
Belgium	397

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

CHAPTER I

In Congress, July 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offenses;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection be-

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

tween them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

John Hancock

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton

Massachusetts Bay

Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry

Rhode Island

Stephen Hopkins
William Ellery

Connecticut

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

New York

William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

New Jersey

Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark

Pennsylvania

Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross

Delaware

Caesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas M'Kean

Maryland

Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone

Charles Carroll, of
Carrollton

Virginia

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton

North Carolina

William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge
Thomas Heyward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton

Georgia

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

CHINA'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

(Address of the Republic)

"On this eighth day of the fourth month in the second year of the republic of China, the date fixed for the first opening of our permanent national assembly, the members of the senate and the house of representatives, having met in these halls to celebrate the event, now make this declaration of their sentiments.

"The will of Heaven is manifested through the will of the authority of the state is not proclaimed now for the first time. The monarchy, so long corrupt, proved unworthy of the grave responsibilities intrusted to it by the will of the people, but with the introduction of popular government the representatives of the people must share the likes and dislikes of the people. They are to give expression to the desires and voice the will of the people; they hold the reins in behalf of the nation to govern with severity or leniency, parsimony or extravagance; they become the pivot upon which the prosperity of the state is made to turn. For the success or failure, safety or danger, adversity or good fortune, theirs is the merit or the blame.

"Can we be otherwise than anxious? Yet through great tribulation the spring comes to prosperity, and our bad management and anxieties are a means to happiness. Now, therefore, we unite to form this assembly and presume to publish our aspirations. May ours be a just government. May our five races lay aside their prejudices. May rain and sunshine bring bounteous harvest and cause the husbandman to rejoice. May the scholar be happy in his home and the merchant conduct his trade in peace. May no duty of government be unfulfilled and no hidden wound go unredressed. Thus may the glory be spread abroad and these our words be echoed far and wide, that those in distant lands who hear may rejoice, our neighbors on every side give us praise, and may the new life of the old nation be lasting and unending. Who of us can dare to be neglectful of his duties!"

NITTI SEES UNITED STATES OF EUROPE AS FUTURE IDEAL.

"The United States of Europe, meaning sincere reconciliation and co-operation of the victors and vanquished for pacification of the whole continent, is the sudden tremendous ideal which flared out in Nitti's sensational speech in the Italian chamber of deputies.

The Italian premier's courageous statesmanship, in a speech

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

perfectly timed at the right psychological moment, has created a great sensation and has met with a startling reception. Today it can be confidently predicted that the late war will appear in history as the great European civil war, whence will come an European federation more or less molded on the American United States."

IDEAL POSSIBLE.

"Nitti's ideal, which a year ago would have met with furious denunciation, is today possible because, while the vanquished, completely crushed and powerless, are at the mercy of their victors, the victors themselves are dependent upon the vanquished because it is recognized that the European States can not individually revive, but only all together or none at all."

"European solidarity is the sole fact dominating the European political situation. The attitude of the United States senate compelled Europe not to look for satisfaction to America, but to itself."

As stated in my previous edition:

The Twentieth Century will work, with its gigantic war, it is to be **hoped**, the permanent retirement of all imperial, ducal and highly titled families, who have ruled, misgoverned and destroyed mankind in the past. They should be superseded by written constitutions containing the supreme law of land, granting universal suffrage when established, and equal rights and protection to all citizens. These should take the place of imperial thrones, crowns, and the so-called divinely appointed sovereigns, who have used their power to dominate and absorb the wealth of their subjects.

Nearly every nation of Europe is represented in the United States of America by a large body of their former subjects, amounting in some cases to hundreds of thousands, who are now loyal and prosperous citizens of this republic living harmoniously under a common constitution and general laws. This demonstrates the possibility of the inhabitants of the different states of Europe uniting and living satisfactorily and harmoniously under one constitutional representative republic like that of the United States of America and forming the United States of Europe. By a general election the people of these several states could jointly elect their representatives to a national congress or parliament and so construct a European congress with a republican constitution, each state to have its constitution and legislature, as well as governor.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

IRELAND'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. PROCLAIMED BY
THE DAIL EIREANN, DUBLIN, JANUARY 21, 1919.

(Translation.)

"Whereas the Irish People is by right a free people;

"And whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation;

"And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people;

"And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people;

"And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete Independence in order to promote the common weal, to establish justice, to provide for future defense, to insure peace at home and good will with all nations and to constitute a National policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen;

"And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic;

"Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people, in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish Nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this Declaration effective by every means at our command.

"To ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance.

"We solemnly declare foreign Government in Ireland to be an invasion of our National Right, which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison;

"We claim for our National Independence the recognition and support of every Free Nation of the world, and we proclaim that Independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter;

"In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle which we have pledged ourselves to carry through to Freedom."

U. S. SENATE TAKES STAND IN FAVOR OF IRISH FREEDOM.

In a new reservation to the peace treaty adopted by a vote of 38 to 36, the Senate reaffirmed its sympathy for the aspirations of the Irish people and expressed hope that the time was "at hand" when Ireland would have a government of its own choosing.

Twenty-one Democrats and seventeen Republicans supported the reservation and sixteen Democrats and twenty Republicans voted against it.

The reservation, which was proposed by Senator Gerry, Democrat, of Rhode Island, follows:

"In consenting to the ratification of the treaty with Germany the United States adheres to the principle of self-determination and to the resolution of sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice adopted by the Senate June 6, 1919, and declares that when self-government is attained by Ireland a consummation it is hoped is at hand, it should promptly be admitted as a member of the League of Nations."

The roll call on the Gerry resolution follows:

For adoption:

Republicans—Borah, Brandegee, Capper, Colt, Curtis, France, Frelinghuysen, Gronna, Johnson of California, Jones of Washington, LaFollette, McLean, McNary, Moses, Norris, Sutherland and Watson—17.

Democrats—Ashurst, Gerry, Gore, Harris, Harrison, Henderson, Hitchcock, Kendrick, Kirby, McKellar, Nugent, Phelan, Pittman, Ransdell, Reed, Sheppard, Shields, Smith of Maryland, Smith of South Carolina, Walsh of Massachusetts and Walsh of Montana—21..

Total for adoption, 38.

Against adoption:

Republicans—Ball, Calder, Cummins, Dillingham, Edge, Elkins, Hale, Harding, Kellogg, Kenyon, Keyes, Lenroot, Lodge, New, Page, Phipps, Spencer, Sterling, Townsend and Wadsworth—20.

Democrats—Beckham, Dial, Fletcher, Gay, Jones of New Mexico, King, Myers, Pomerene, Robinson, Smith of Georgia, Swanson, Thomas, Trammell, Underwood, Williams and Walcott—16.

Total against adoption, 36.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

Of senators absent and paired it was announced that Senators Johnson of South Dakota, Culberson of Texas, Overman of North Carolina, Owen of Oklahoma and Stanley of Kentucky, Democrats, favored the resolution, and Senator Fernald, Republican, of Maine, opposed it. The position of other senators not voting was not stated.

LLOYD GEORGE STRAINS THE TRUTH.

Editor Evening American:

LONDON, June 19, 1920.—“The British government will never agree to an Irish Republic unless it is beaten to the ground,” was the final answer today of Prime Minister Lloyd George to the delegation from the National Railwaymen's Union, with which he has been conferring about the refusal of Irish railwaymen to handle ammunition and troop trains.

“The Premier then reiterated the comparison of the Irish movement for independence from the British Empire with American Civil War. He said:

“‘Abraham Lincoln faced a million casualties and a five years' war rather than acknowledge the independence of the Southern government. The British government will do the same thing if necessary.’”

The above cable dispatch is from The Herald and Examiner of Sunday, June 20.

There is no comparison between these two contentions or incidents. Ireland is fighting for the return of the Irish nation originally stolen from the Irish by the British imperial government, not for separation. The Southern Confederation, in violation of the Constitution of the United States, attempted to establish an independent government on a portion of the territory belonging to the United States government in order that they might continue to hold in slavery four million colored people who were held in absolute slavery. England is now fighting to hold the territory of a formerly independent nation taken by force from them, a nation of 6,250,000, which she has by cruelty and oppression reduced to a trifle over 4,000,000 from 1828 to the present time.

A book entitled “Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government,” written by Barton A. Ulrich, formerly a resident of Springfield, Ill., and an old friend of Abraham Lincoln, who was frequently a guest at his mother's house in Springfield, gives the facts in regard to the causes of the Civil War and also the position which England took towards the United States during this war. This book every free American and Irishman throughout the world should read.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

On pages 63 and 64 of this book the following facts are given: "Through the complicity of England, for which she was later compelled to pay an indemnity of 3,000,000 pounds to those who were damaged in the United States by vessels built in England for the Southern Confederacy, the rebel leaders were enabled to fit out privateers and prey upon the merchant vessels of the United States with impunity. Two of these vessels, the Alabama and the Florida, would raise the English flag if it would aid them in their villainous piracy, capture prizes and then run past the United States vessels blockading Southern ports. The Lancaster, commanded by Capt. Semmes, did considerable damage until finally it was disabled by the Tuscarora, the Chippewa, and the Kearsarge at Gibraltar. Capt. Semmes sold his vessel and discharged his men. The Florida, after it had inflicted an immense amount of damage on American shipping, was at last destroyed by the United States sloop of war Wachusett in the port of Bahia, Brazil. The Alabama, under charge of Capt. Semmes with an English crew and gunners, after driving many United States merchant ships from the seas and destroying many sailing vessels, and every variety of shipping, was at last compelled to encounter the United States sloop of war Kearsarge, commanded by Capt. Winslow, beyond the three mile limit, off Cherbourg, France, and was overpowered and sunk."

There is no "comparison" between these two contentions, and Lloyd George deliberately misrepresents the facts as set forth in every complete history of the Civil War. The Confederate or Southern states originally were a part and parcel of the United States and entered into the confederation in every instance by their free and voluntary act, while Ireland was compelled by force of arms to become a subject of Great Britain and has been held in subjection by the same Imperial policy of Great Britain.

AMERICAN MAN.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE CZECHO-SLOVAK NATION BY ITS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

AT THIS GRAVE MOMENT, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the Allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the Allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak State and Nation, in complete accord with

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

the Declaration of the Czech Deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization, and, still more, autonomy mean nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty which they do not recognize, and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock-federation, which is only a new form of the denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past three hundred years. We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the FREE nations of Central and Eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh Century; and, in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger. We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the Constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian Dualistic Compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the Monarchy. The world knows the history of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph, in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition; and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany, and as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict, as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE

We cannot and will not continue to live under the rule, direct or indirect, of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Roumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties. We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence, and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world-organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will, and by the same right deposes them. We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czechoslovak Land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Nation. The final decision as to the Constitution itself falls to the legally chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czechoslovak State shall be a Republic. In constant endeavor for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition. The Church shall be separated from the State.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage. Women shall be placed on equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of the initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czechoslovak Nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be redeemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished.

Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts for this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czechslovak Nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of Eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationalism and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our Constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome—democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy, mankind will be reorganized. The forces of darkness have served the victory of light—the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY, WE BELIEVE IN
LIBERTY—AND LIBERTY EVERMORE
Given in Paris, on the eighteenth day of October, 1918.

PROFESSOR THOMAS G. MASARYK,
Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

GENERAL DR. MILAN R. STEFANIK,
Minister of National Defense.

DR. EDWARD BENES,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.

DECLARATION OF PARIS

DECLARATION OF PARIS

ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH—A diplomatic instrument or protocol signed by the representatives of all the powers present at the Congress of Paris in 1856, and subsequently accepted as a binding engagement of public law by all the other powers (except the United States of America, Spain, and Mexico), for the purpose of settling and defining certain rules of maritime law, in time of war, on points of great moment to belligerent and neutral states—points, it must be added, upon which the ancient law of nations had gradually undergone some change, and on which great differences of opinion and practice prevailed. The four propositions agreed to by the plenipotentiaries were embodied in the following terms:

1. Privateering is and remains abolished.
2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.
3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.
4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective—that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient readily to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

By most of the modern writers on international law these principles are regarded as a distinct gain to the cause of civilization, international justice, commerce, and peace. But a feeble and ineffectual attempt has been made to repudiate these new rules of maritime law, though they received the tacit assent of Parliament, and have been acted upon by all nations in the six wars which have occurred since 1856, including the American civil war, although the United States had not concurred in the Declaration. The American Government withheld its assent, not because it objected to these principles, but because it held that they did not go far enough, and that they ought to be extended to secure from capture all private property at sea. It is argued by the opponents of the Declaration that the British envoy at Paris exceeded his powers; that the form of the instrument itself is declaratory, but not binding either as a contract or a legislative act; that it is not competent to a congress to change the rights of belligerents founded on ancient law and usage; and that Great Britain committed a fatal error in renouncing the right to seize enemy's goods in neutral ships and to equip privateers.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC.

FULL TEXT OF NEW BASIC LAW OF THE NATION, ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT WEIMAR.

The National Constituent Assembly of Germany, elected on Jan. 19, 1919, after many months of deliberation adopted the following Constitution for the new republic on July 31, and it became effective on August 13. During this whole period the Constituent Assembly fulfilled the functions of the Reichstag. Under the Constitution the Reichstag, elected in accordance with the new basic law, will resume its functions. The National Council forms a sort of upper house, corresponding largely to the Federal Council of the Empire. The revision of Article 61, which provides for the admission of Austrian delegates to the National Council, has been formally demanded by the Peace Conference at Paris. The text of the Constitution is as follows:

PREAMBLE.—The German people, united in all its branches and with the determination to build up and strengthen its domain in liberty and justice, to preserve peace, both at home and abroad, and to foster social progress, has adopted the following Constitution:

COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 1. The German National State is a Republic. The power of the State is derived from the people.

ARTICLE 2. The territory of the nation consists of the territories of the German States. Other territories may be taken into the Government by national law, when their inhabitants, by a vote of self-determination, express such a desire.

ARTICLE 3. The national colors are black-red-gold. The trade flag is black-white-red, with the national colors on the upper inside corner.

ARTICLE 4. The universally recognized principles of the laws of nations are accepted as binding elements of the laws of the German Nation.

ARTICLE 5. The power of the National State shall be exercised through the agencies of the Government on the basis of the Constitution in all matters affecting the nation, and in all matters affecting the respective States through the agencies of such States on the basis of their respective Constitutions.

ARTICLE 6. The Government has the exclusive right of legislation over:

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

1. Foreign relations.
2. Colonial matters.
3. State property, right of changing residence, immigration and emigration, and extradition.
4. Military organization.
5. Coinage.
6. Customs, including the unification of customs and trade districts and the free circulation of wares.

7. Posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

ARTICLE 7.—The Government has right of legislation over:

1. Civil law.
2. Criminal law.
3. Judicial proceedings, including the execution of penalties and co-operation between departments.
4. Passports and police for aliens.
5. Poor laws and vagrancy.
6. Press, associations, and assemblies.
7. Population policy; provisions affecting maternity, nurslings, young children and adolescents.
8. National health, veterinaries, protection of plants from disease and pests.
9. Labor law, insurance, and protection of workmen and employees and employment agencies.
10. The organization of trade representation in the nation.
11. Provision for war veterans and their survivors.
12. The right of alienation of property.
13. The socialization of natural treasures and economic undertakings, as well as the production, organization, distribution, and evaluation of economic goods for the community.
14. Trade, weights and measures, issue of paper money, banks and stock exchanges.
15. Traffic in food articles and luxuries, as well as objects of daily need.
16. Industrial pursuits and mining.
17. Insurance.
18. Navigation, fishing on the high sea and along the coasts.
19. Railways, internal navigation, communication by vehicles propelled by power on land, on sea, and in the air, construction of highways, in so far as general communications and national defense are concerned.
20. Theatres and cinematographs.

ARTICLE 8. The Government further possesses legislative power over taxes and other sources of income, in so far as they may be claimed in whole or in part for its purposes. In the event that the

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

Government claims taxes or other forms of income which formerly belonged to its confederated States, it will be bound to consider the maintenance of such States' vital means of support.

ARTICLE 9. Whenever a need for centralized control occurs the Government has a right of legislation over:

1. Community welfare.
2. Protection of public order and security.

ARTICLE 10. The Government in respect to legislation may lay down principles for:

1. The rights and duties of religious associations.
2. Schools, high schools, and scientific publications.
3. The official rights of all public bodies.
4. Land rights, land divisions, settlements and homesteads, title or landed property, habitations, and distribution of inhabitants.
5. Interments.

ARTICLE 11.—The Government in respect to legislation may lay down principles for the permissibility and mode of collection of taxes, in order to prevent:

1. Injury to income or to trade relations of the nation.
2. Double taxation.
3. Excessive and burdensome taxes on the use of public ways of communication which hinder traffic, and of tollways.
4. Tax disadvantages of imported wares as compared with domestic products in trade between the various States and State districts, or,
5. To exclude or to conserve important communal interests.

ARTICLE 12. So long and in so far as the Government makes no use of its right of legislation, the confederated States possess the right of legislation. This does not apply to the exclusive legislation of the Government.

The Government has the right, wherever the welfare of the community is involved, to veto laws of confederated States related to the objects of Article 7, Section 13.

ARTICLE 13. Government law transcends States' law. In case there should arise doubt or difference of opinion as to whether State legislation is in harmony with Government legislation, the proper officials of the Government or the central State officials, according to the specific prescription of a Government law, may resort to the decision of the highest national court.

ARTICLE 14. The laws of the Government will be exercised through the State officials, unless the national laws provide otherwise.

ARTICLE 15. The Government administration exercises supervision in matters over which the nation has the right of legislation.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

In so far as the laws of the Government are to be exercised by State officials, the Government Administration may issue general directions. It has the power to send commissioners to the central State authorities, and, with their approval, also to subordinate officials, to supervise the fulfillment of the Government laws.

The State Administrations are charged, at the request of the Government Administration, to eliminate defects in the execution of the national laws. In case of differences of opinion, the Government Administration, as well as the State Administration, may resort to the decision of the Supreme Court, in case another court is not prescribed by Government law.

ARTICLE 16. Those officials charged with the direct administration of Government in the different States shall, as a rule, be appointed from citizens of the given State. The officials, employees, and workmen of the Government Administration will, when desired, be employed in their home districts as far as proves possible, and whenever consideration of their training or of the demands of the service present no objection.

ARTICLE 17. Every state must have a republican Constitution. The people's representatives must be chosen in universal, equal, direct and secret vote cast by all German men and women citizens on the basis of proportional representation. The State Administration shall require the confidence of the people's representatives.

The election basis for popular representation applies also for the community elections. Through State law, however, the right to vote may be made to depend on the length of residence in the community to the extent of one year.

ARTICLE 18. The division of the Government into States shall serve the highest economic and cultural interests of the people after most thorough consideration of the will of the population involved. Changes in State boundaries and the reconstruction of States within the nation may occur on the passing of a national law changing the Constitution.

If the States directly involved agree, a simple Government law will suffice.

A simple Government law will be sufficient, further, if one of the States involved does not agree but the territorial change or reconstruction is demanded by the will of the population and a predominating national interest requires it.

The will of the population is to be determined by referendum. The National Administration will sanction such a vote when a third of the inhabitants qualified to vote for the Reichstag, and who belong to the territory whose separation is opposed, demand it.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

To determine a territorial change or reconstruction three-fifths of the votes cast, or at least a majority of votes cast by qualified voters, shall be required. Even when a separation of only a part of a Prussian administrative district, a Bavarian circle, or, in other States, a corresponding administrative district, is involved, the will of the population of the whole district under consideration must be determined. If a considerable dependence of the district to be separated on the whole region does not exist, the will of the population of the district to be separated may be pronounced sufficient on the basis of a special Government law.

After the consent of the population has been manifested by vote, the Government Administration must lay before the Reichstag a corresponding law for enactment.

In case dispute arises over financial or property details when such union or separation is accomplished, the Supreme Court of Germany, if charged therewith by one of the parties, may give a decision.

ARTICLE 19. In the case of constitutional disputes within a State in which no court exists that may resolve them, as well as in the case of disputes of a non-private nature between different States or between the Government and a State, the National Supreme Court, at the request of one of the parties in dispute, shall decide, in case another court of the Government does not have jurisdiction.

The National President executes the decision of the Supreme Court.

THE REICHSTAG.

ARTICLE 20. The Reichstag shall consist of the deputies of the German people.

ARTICLE 21. The delegates are representatives of the whole people. They are subject only to their own conscience and shall not be bound by any orders.

ARTICLE 22. The delegates shall be chosen on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret vote by all men and women over the age of 20, in accordance with the principles of proportional representation. The day for elections must be a Sunday or a public day of rest.

Other details will be determined by the Government election law.

ARTICLE 23. The Reichstag will be elected for four years. New elections must occur at latest after the expiration of sixty days following its expiration.

The Reichstag will convene at latest on the thirtieth day after election.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 24. The Reichstag will meet each year on the first Wednesday in November at the seat of the National Government. The President of the Reichstag must call it earlier, if the President of the Republic, or at least a third of the members of the Reichstag demand it.

The Reichstag shall determine the close of session and the day of reconvention.

ARTICLE 25. The President of the Republic may dissolve the Reichstag, but only once for the same cause.

New elections shall occur at latest on the sixtieth day after such dissolution.

ARTICLE 26. The Reichstag shall choose its President, as well as his representative, and its secretary. It shall determine its own order of business.

ARTICLE 27. Between two adjournments or election periods the President and his representative of the last session shall continue all necessary business.

ARTICLE 28. The President shall exercise the power of law and police duty in the Reichstag building. The management of the House is subject to him; he shall have power over the incomes and disbursements of the House, in accordance with the standard of Government economy, and shall represent the Government in all legal business and litigation arising in his administration.

ARTICLE 29. The Reichstag's proceedings will be public. At the request of fifty members the public may be excluded on a two-thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 30. Truthful reports of the proceedings in open sessions of the Reichstag, of a Provincial Parliament or of their committees shall carry no responsibility.

ARTICLE 31. A Court of Election Control shall be formed in the Reichstag. This court shall decide the question whether a delegate shall lose membership or not.

This Court of Election Control shall consist of members of the Reichstag, which the latter chooses for the election period, and of members of the Government Court of Administration, to be appointed by the President of the Republic at the suggestion of the President of this court.

This Court of Election Control shall form its decisions on the basis of public oral discussions conducted by three members of the Reichstag and two judicial members.

Besides the proceedings of the Court of Election Control, other

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

proceedings will be instituted by a Government Commissioner appointed by the President of the Republic. These proceedings, however, shall be regulated by the Court of Election Control.

ARTICLE 32. To make any decision of the Reichstag valid, a simple majority vote shall be required, in so far as the Constitution does not prescribe a different ratio of voting. For elections to be undertaken by the Reichstag the Committee on Rules may admit exceptions.

The determination of a decision will be regulated by the Committee on Rules.

ARTICLE 33. The Reichstag and its committee may demand the presence of the National Chancellor and of any other Government Minister.

The Chancellor, the Government Ministers, and their duly appointed representatives shall have access to the sessions of the Reichstag and of its committees. The confederated States shall possess the right to send their plenipotentiaries to these sessions to interpret the views of their State Governments regarding the object of discussion.

At their request the representatives of the State Government must receive a hearing during the discussion, and the representatives of the National Government must be heard also outside the order of the day.

They shall, however, be subject to the control of the Chairman in matters of order.

ARTICLE 34. The Reichstag has the right, and, at the request of one-fifth of its members, the duty of appointing committees of investigation. These committees in open session shall bring to light the evidence which they, or the members proffering the request, shall consider required. Publicity may be excluded by the committee of investigation by a two-thirds majority vote. The Committee on Rules shall regulate the proceedings of the committee and determine the number of its members.

The judicial and administrative officials shall comply with requests made by these committees for information evidence, and the records of these officials shall on request be laid before them. The prescriptions of the penal code shall have application to the investigations of these committees and of the officials by them petitioned, but the secrecy of letter and parcel post, telegraph, and telephone services shall be undisturbed.

ARTICLE 35. The Reichstag shall appoint a standing committee for outside matters, whose activity shall exist also outside the

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

session and after the close of the election period until the reconvention of the new Reichstag. The sittings of this committee shall not be public, unless the committee by a two-thirds majority vote decides for publicity.

The Reichstag further shall appoint a standing committee to maintain the rights of the popular representatives as against the Government Administration outside of session and after the close of the election period.

These committees shall have the rights of investigating committees.

ARTICLE 36. No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall at any time, because of his vote or because of any opinions expressed in the fulfillment of his duty, be judicially or officially prosecuted or in any way be held for responsibility outside the Assembly.

ARTICLE 37. No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall, without approval of the house to which the delegate belongs, be subjected to investigation or arrest during the session on account of any action involving penalty, unless the member is arrested in the act, or, at latest, on the following day.

The same approval is required in the case of every other limitation of personal freedom which hinders the fulfillment of the delegate's legislative duties.

Every criminal proceeding against a member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament and every arrest or other limitation of his personal freedom shall, at the demand of the house to which the delegate belongs, be revoked for the period of the session.

ARTICLE 38. The members of the Reichstag and the Provincial Parliaments are empowered to refuse evidence concerning persons who have given them information in their capacity as delegates, or to whom, in the fulfillment of their duties as delegates, they have given such information, as well as to testify concerning such information. In regard also to the seizure of documents their position shall be the same as that of all persons who by law are given the right of refusal of evidence.

A search or seizure may be undertaken in the precincts of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament only with the consent of the President.

ARTICLE 39. Officials and members of the army need no leave to fulfill their office as members of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

If they become candidates for a seat in these bodies the necessary leave shall be granted them to prepare for their election.

ARTICLE 40. The members of the Reichstag shall have the right of free transport over all German railway lines, and also compensation as prescribed by a national law.

THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT.

ARTICLE 41. The President of the Republic shall be chosen by the whole German people. Every German who has completed his thirty-fifth year is qualified for election. Further details are determined by a national law.

ARTICLE 42. The National President, on assuming his office before the Reichstag, shall take the following oath:

I swear to consecrate all my energy to the welfare of the German people, to increase its advantages, to avert its injury, to preserve the Constitution and the laws of the nation, to fulfill my duties conscientiously, and to deal justly with all.

The addition of a religious declaration shall be permissible.

ARTICLE 43. The duration of the President's tenure of office shall be seven years. Re-election shall be permissible.

Before the expiration of his term the President may be deposed by a referendum, at the request of the Reichstag. The decision of the Reichstag shall require a two-thirds majority vote. Through such decision the President shall be prohibited from further exercise of his office. Rejection of his deposition by a referendum shall count as a new election and entail the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The National President shall not be subject to prosecution without the sanction of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 44. The President may not at the same time be a member of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 45. The President shall represent the nation in matters of international law. He shall in the nation's name conclude alliances and other treaties with foreign powers. He shall accredit and receive Ambassadors.

Declaration of war and conclusion of peace shall be subject to national law.

Alliances and treaties with foreign States, related to subjects covered by national law, shall require the approval of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 46. The President shall appoint and dismiss Govern-

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ment officials and military officers, if not otherwise provided by law. He can exercise this right of appointment or dismissal through other officials.

ARTICLE 47. The President has supreme command over all the military forces of the nation.

ARTICLE 48. If any State shall not fulfill the duties prescribed for it by the Constitution or by Government laws the President of the Republic may hold it to such fulfillment with the aid of armed power.

The President, in the event that public security and order in the German Nation should be considerably disturbed or endangered, may take all necessary measures to re-establish such public security and order, and, if required, to intervene with the aid of armed power. To this end he may provisionally abrogate, in whole or in part, the fundamental laws established in Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153.

The President must immediately inform the Reichstag of all measures provided for by Paragraphs 1 or 2 of this article. These measures may be revoked at the demand of the Reichstag.

In case of danger from delay the Provincial Government may take provisional measures of the kind mentioned in Paragraph 2 for its own territory. These measures may be revoked at the demand of the President of the republic or of the Reichstag. Details are provided by a Government law.

ARTICLE 49. The President of the Republic shall exercise for the Government the right of pardon. Government amnesties require a national law.

ARTICLE 50. All arrangements and dispositions of the President of the Republic, including those concerning the army, to become valid must be countersigned by the Prime Minister or by duly qualified Government Ministers. Responsibility shall ensue upon this countersigning.

ARTICLE 51. The President of the Republic, in case he is incapacitated, shall be represented by the National Chancellor. If such incapacity last for any considerable time, this representation shall be regulated by a Government law. The same provision shall apply in case of a premature vacancy of the Presidency until the new elections are completed.

ARTICLE 52. The administration of the Government shall consist of the National Chancellor and the Government Ministers.

ARTICLE 53. The Chancellor, and at his suggestion the Ministers of the Government, shall be appointed and dismissed by the President of the Republic.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 54. The Chancellor and the Government Ministers shall require the confidence of the Reichstag for the fulfillment of their office. Any of them must withdraw in the event that the Reichstag by explicit resolution withholds its confidence.

ARTICLE 55. The Chancellor shall preside in the Government Administration and shall conduct its affairs in accordance with an order of business, which shall be determined by the Administration and approved by the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 56. The Prime Minister shall determine the line of policy and shall assume responsibility therefor to the Reichstag. Within this line each and every Government Minister shall conduct independently the field of activity allotted to him, assuming his own responsibility to the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 57. The Ministers of Government are charged to lay before the Government Administration for discussion and decision all drafts of law, all matters so prescribed by Constitution or law, and all differences of opinion over various questions which concern the functions of several Government Ministers.

ARTICLE 58. The Government Administration shall ratify its decisions on the basis of majority vote. In case of a tie the vote of the presiding officers shall be decisive.

ARTICLE 59. The Reichstag is empowered to enter a complaint before the Supreme Court of the German Nation against the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Government Ministers, on the ground of their having violated the Constitution or a Government law. The proposal to initiate this complaint must be signed by at least 100 members of the Reichstag and requires the approval of the majority prescribed for alteration of the Constitution. Other details will be regulated by the Government law applying to the National Supreme Court.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

ARTICLE 60. A National Council (Reichsrat) shall be formed for representation of the German States in national legislation and administration.

ARTICLE 61. In the National Council every State shall have at least one vote. In the case of the larger States one vote will be accorded to every million inhabitants. Any excess equal at least to the population of the smallest State will be estimated as equal to a full million. No State shall be represented by more than two-fifths of all votes.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

German-Austria, after its union with the German Nation, shall receive the right of participation in the National Council with the number of votes corresponding to its population. Until that time the representatives of German-Austria shall have a deliberative voice.

The number of votes shall be newly determined through the National Council after every general census.

ARTICLE 62. In committees formed by the National Council from its own members, no State shall have more than one voice.

ARTICLE 63. The States shall be represented in the National Council through members of their respective Governments. But half of the Prussian votes will be disposed of according to a State law, by the Prussian Provincial Administrations.

The States shall have the right to send as many representatives to the National Council as they have votes.

ARTICLE 64. The Government Administration shall be bound to summon the National Council at the demand of one-third of its members.

ARTICLE 65. The Presidency of the National Council and of its committees shall be filled by a member of the Government Administration. The members of the Government Administration shall have the right, and, on demand, the duty, to participate in the dealings of the National Council and its committees. During its sittings they shall, if they so desire, be given a hearing at any time.

ARTICLE 66. The Government Administration, as well as every member of the State Council, are authorized to make proposals in the National Council. The National Council shall regulate the conduct of its proceedings through an order of business. The plenary sessions of the National Council shall be public. According to the order of business, the public may be excluded for special objects of discussion. A simple majority of the voters shall be decisive in voting.

ARTICLE 67. The National Council shall be kept informed by the National Ministries of the conduct of national business. The proper committees of the National Council shall be summoned by the National Ministries for deliberations over important subjects.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION.

ARTICLE 68. Projects of legislation shall be introduced by the Government or from the body of the Reichstag. The laws of the nation shall be determined by the Reichstag.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 69. The introduction of legislative projects by the Government Administration shall require the assent of the National Council. In the event that the Government Administration and the National Council shall not agree, the Government Administration may nevertheless introduce the project, but shall be bound to record the dissent of the National Council.

In case the National Council approve a project of legislation and the Government Administration disapprove it, the latter shall introduce the project in the Reichstag with an exposition of its own standpoint.

ARTICLE 70. The National President shall make a compilation of all laws created according to the Constitution and within one month publish it in the Government Legislative Record.

ARTICLE 71. All Government laws shall come into force, unless otherwise specified, on the fourteenth day following the date of the issue of the Government Legislative Record in the nation's capital.

ARTICLE 72. The publication of a Government law may be deferred for two months, if so demanded by one-third of the Reichstag. Laws which the Reichstag and the National Council declare as urgent may be published by the President of the republic without regard to such demand.

ARTICLE 73. A law approved by the Reichstag must be referred to the people before its publication if the President of the Republic so decrees within a month. A law whose publication is deferred at the demand of at least one-third of the Reichstag must be laid before the people for decision, if one-twentieth of qualified voters make such proposal.

A referendum shall further be resorted to if one-tenth of qualified voters express the desire that a project of law shall be proposed. A fully elaborated project of law must be the basis of such desire. The Government must lay this project of law before the Reichstag and explain its own stand regarding it. The referendum shall not occur if the desired project of law is accepted by the Reichstag without alteration. Only the President of the Republic may call a referendum for matters concerning the budget, tax laws, and salary payments. A national law shall regulate the procedure to be followed in a referendum or a project of law desired by the people.

ARTICLE 74. The National Council shall have the right of veto against laws approved by the Reichstag. This veto must be entered before the Reichstag by the Government within two weeks after ratification, and within two further weeks at the latest must be circumstantiated.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

In the event of such veto the law shall be laid before the Reichstag for a second decision. If the Reichstag and the National Council do not agree, the President of the Republic may within three months refer the subject of dispute to a referendum. In case the President does not avail himself of this right, the law will be considered not to have been passed. If the Reichstag rejects the protest of the National Council on the basis of a two-thirds majority vote, the President shall publish the law in the form accepted by the Reichstag within three months, or else decree a referendum.

ARTICLE 75. Through a referendum a Reichstag decision may be nullified only when a majority of the qualified voters participate in the voting.

ARTICLE 76. In respect to legislation the Constitution may be altered. But decisions of the Reichstag on alteration of the Constitution shall be valid only when two-thirds of the lawful membership are present, and at least two-thirds of those present give their assent. Decisions of the National Council on alteration shall also require a two-thirds majority of all votes cast. In case a change of Constitution is determined by popular desire through a referendum, the assent of a majority of qualified voters shall be required.

In the event that the Reichstag determine on an alteration of the Constitution against the protest of the National Council, the President of the Republic need not publish this law, if the National Council demand a referendum within two weeks.

ARTICLE 77. The Government shall issue the general administrative decrees required for the execution of the national laws where no other provision is made by law. The assent of the National Council is necessary when the execution of the laws is incumbent on State officials.

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

ARTICLE 78. Relations with foreign States concern the nation exclusively.

In matters regulated by provincial law the confederated States may conclude treaties with foreign States. These treaties require the consent of the nation.

Agreements with foreign States regarding change of national boundaries may be concluded by the nation on consent of the State involved. Alterations of the boundaries may occur only on the basis of a Government law, except in cases where mere correction of the boundaries of uninhabited districts is in question.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

To assure the representation of interests arising for special States through their special economic relations or their proximity to foreign countries, the Government shall decide on the measures and arrangements required in concert with the States involved.

ARTICLE 79. The defense of the nation concerns the nation. The military organization of the German people shall be placed under unified control by a Government law in which the special provincial institutions shall be given due consideration.

ARTICLE 80. Colonial administration concerns the nation exclusively.

ARTICLE 81. All German merchant ships shall constitute a unified trade fleet.

ARTICLE 82. Germany forms a customs and trade territory surrounded by a common customs boundary. This customs boundary shall be identical with the frontier boundary. On the coast the shore line of the mainland and of the islands belonging to the national territory constitute the customs boundary. Exceptions may be determined for the customs line running along the sea coast and other waters. Foreign territories or parts of territories may be annexed to the customs territory by national treaties or agreements.

Parts of the customs territory may be excluded on special request. In the case of free ports this exclusion may occur only through a law altering the Constitution. Customs districts excluded may be annexed to a foreign customs district through national treaties or agreements.

All natural products, as well as arts and crafts products, may in the free intercourse of the nation be transported into, out of, or across the boundaries of the various States and communities. Exceptions may be permitted by a Government law.

ARTICLE 83. Customs and excise of articles of consumption shall be administered through Government officials. Measures shall be provided for the administration of Government taxes through Government officials which shall enable the confederated States to maintain special State interests in the spheres of agriculture, trade, crafts, and industry.

ARTICLE 84. The Government shall provide by law for:

1. The organization of the administration of taxes in the different States so far as shall be required for the unified and regular fulfillment of the national tax laws.
2. The organization and functions of the officials charged with supervision of the execution of the national tax laws.
3. Balance accounts with the confederated States.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

4. The reimbursement of the costs of administration in the execution of the national tax laws.

ARTICLE 85. All revenues and disbursements of the nation must be computed for every fiscal year and entered in the budget. The budget shall be confirmed before the beginning of the fiscal year by law. The expenses shall regularly be appropriated for one year; in special cases they may be approved for a longer period. In other cases provision in the budget law extending beyond the fiscal year or not relating to the revenues and expenses of the nation or its administration shall be prohibited.

The Reichstag, in the drawing up of the budget, may not increase or add new expenses without the consent of the National Council. The consent of the National Council may be replaced according to the provisions of Article 74.

ARTICLE 86. For the employment of all national revenue the Minister of Finance shall in the following fiscal year, to cover the responsibility of the administration, submit an account of reckoning to the National Council and to the Reichstag. The auditing of this account shall be regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 87. In the matter of credit, moneys shall be procured only in case of extraordinary need and regularly only for expenses connected with promotion. Such procuring of moneys, as well as the assumption by the Government of a security obligation, may occur on the strength of a Government law.

ARTICLE 88. The post and telegraph services, together with the telephone service, concern the nation exclusively. The postage stamp symbols shall be the same for the whole nation.

The Government Administration shall, with the consent of the National Council, issue decrees laying down principles and duties in the use of means of communication. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the Postmaster General.

The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall appoint a supplementary council for advisory co-operation in postal, telegraph, telephone communications, and the regulation of prices.

Only the Government shall conclude treaties dealing with communications with foreign countries.

ARTICLE 89. It is the nation's duty to take over railroads serving general traffic, with all their property, and to manage them as a unified system of communication.

ARTICLE 90. With the taking over of the railroads the Government shall also take over the right of property alienation and the

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

supreme State rights relating to railway organization. The National Supreme Court shall decide the scope of such rights in case of disputes.

ARTICLE 91. The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall issue decrees regulating the construction, the management, and the traffic of railways. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the proper Government Minister.

ARTICLE 92. The Government railways, irrespective of their budget and their accounts in the general budget and general accounts of the nation, shall be administered as an independent economic undertaking, which shall defray its own expenses, including interest and cancellation of the railway debt, and shall set aside a railway sinking fund. The amount of the cancellation and of the sinking fund, as well as the objects for which money shall be applied, shall be regulated by special laws.

ARTICLE 93. Acting for the Government railways, with the consent of the National Council, the Government Administration shall appoint supplementary councils for advisory co-operation in matters of railway traffic and transportation charges.

ARTICLE 94. In the event that the Government has taken over into its administration the railways of a certain district which serve general transport needs, within that district new railways serving such general transportation needs may be built only by the Government or by its consent. In case such construction of new railways, or alterations of existing railway organizations, concern the sphere of authority of the State police, the Railway Administration, before decision, must grant a hearing to the State officials.

In case the Government has not yet taken over the railways, it may administer on its own account railways considered essential for general transportation, or for national defense, by virtue of Government laws and despite the opposition of the States which they traverse, yet without infringing sovereign State rights, or it may give over construction rights to another, if necessary, also according right of alienation.

Every Railway Administration must consent to connection with other railway lines at the latter's expense.

ARTICLE 95. Railways for general traffic not administered by the Government are subject to the supervision of the Government.

The railways thus subjected to Government supervision are to be controlled and equipped, according to the same principles, to be determined by the Government. They shall be maintained in safe

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

condition and to be extended as necessity demands. Transportation of persons and goods shall, as need arises, be provided for and equipment furnished.

In the supervision of the cost of transportation, the supervisors shall work toward a uniform and a low railway rate.

ARTICLE 96. All railways, including those not serving general traffic needs, must comply with the demands of the Government for use of the railways for the purpose of national defense.

ARTICLE 97. It is the duty of the Government to take over for administration all waterways serving general communications. After such taking over, such waterways serving general communications may be applied or extended only by the Government or with its consent. In administering, extending, or reconstructing such waterways the needs of agriculture and irrigation shall be preserved in co-operation with the States affected. The claims of the latter shall also be regarded.

Every administration of waterways must agree to amalgamation with other inner waterways at the cost of the undertakers. The same obligation exists for the construction of a connecting way between inner waterways and railways.

In taking over the waterways the Government shall assume the right of alienation and authority over transportation cost and the policing of waters and navigation.

The task of building water communications in connection with the extension of natural waterways in the Rhine, Weser, and Elbe regions is to be undertaken by the Government.

ARTICLE 98. Supplementary councils shall be formed with the consent of the National Council by specific decree of the Government Administration for co-operation in matters affecting waterways and national waterways.

ARTICLE 99. Expenses on natural waterways shall be incurred only for such works, establishments, and other institutions as are destined to facilitate communication. In the case of State and community institutions they must not exceed the expenses required for repair and maintenance. The costs of repair and maintenance for institutions not intended exclusively to facilitate communication, but also to further other purposes, may be increased by navigation expenses only to a relative degree. Sums paid for interest and debt cancellation shall be included in costs for maintenance.

The provisions of the preceding clause apply to the disbursements incurred for artificial waterways as well as for constructions on such and in harbors.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

The total costs of a waterway, a river district, or a system of waterways may be reckoned as fundamental in matters of inner navigation for the estimation of navigation expenses.

These provisions apply also to timber floating on navigable waterways.

Only the Government may impose other or higher taxes on foreign ships and their cargoes than on German ships and their cargoes.

For the procuring of means for the maintenance and equipment of the German system of waterways the Government may call on the participators in navigation for contributions in other ways.

ARTICLE 100. To cover the cost of maintenance and construction of inner navigation routes any person who in any other way than through navigation derives profit from the construction of dams that shut off valleys may also be called upon for contribution, whenever several States are involved, or the Government bears the cost of the outlay.

ARTICLE 101. It is the duty of the Government to take over as its own property and into its own administration all sea signals, especially lighthouses, lightships, buoys, floats, and beacons. After such taking over sea signals may be repaired or improved only by the Government or with its consent.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

ARTICLE 102. Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 103. Regular justice shall be administered through the national courts and through the State courts.

ARTICLE 104. Judges administering regular justice shall be appointed for life. They may be permanently or temporarily removed from office, or transferred to another office, or retired against their will, only by virtue of judicial decision and for the grounds and in the forms provided by law. The law code may fix age limitations, on reaching which Judges may be retired. The temporary relief from office consequent on law is not affected by this article.

In case of a change in the organization of the courts or their jurisdiction districts the administration of justice in the province may decree transfer against desire to another court or removals from office, but only under allowances of full salary.

These provisions have no application to commercial Judges, rural Justices, and jurymen.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 105. Extraordinary courts are illegal. No one shall be removed from the jurisdiction of his legal Judge. Provisions made by law for martial courts and military courts are not affected hereby. Military courts of honor are suspended.

ARTICLE 106. Military justice is to be suspended, except in time of war or on board warships. Further details are regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 107. Administrative courts both of the nation and the States must, according to law, protect the individual against dispositions and provisions of administrative officials.

ARTICLE 108. According to national law a National Supreme Court is established for the German Nation.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE GERMANS— THE INDIVIDUAL.

ARTICLE 109. All Germans are equal before the law. Men and women have fundamentally the same civil rights and duties. Public advantages or disadvantages of birth or rank are to be suspended. Titles of nobility shall be accepted only as part of a name and may not be conferred any longer. Titles may be conferred only when they designate an office or a profession; academic degrees are not affected by this provision. Orders and insignias of orders may not be conferred by the State. No German may accept a title or order from a foreign Government.

ARTICLE 110. Citizenship in the nation and the States may be acquired or lost, according to the provisions of national law. Every citizen of a State is at the same time a citizen of the nation. Every German in every State of the nation has the same rights and duties as the citizens of the State itself.

ARTICLE 111. All Germans enjoy the right of free travel throughout the whole nation. Every one has the right of sojourn and settlement in any place within the nation, the right to acquire real estate and to pursue every means of livelihood. Limitations require the issuance of a Government decree.

ARTICLE 112. Every German has the right to emigrate to countries outside Germany. Emigration may be limited only by national law. All citizens of the nation have right of protection by the Government both within and without the national boundaries as against foreign countries. No German may be delivered over to a foreign Government for prosecution or punishment.

ARTICLE 113. Those elements of the nation speaking a foreign

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

language may not be impaired judicially or administratively in their free and popular development, especially in the use of their mother tongue for instruction, or in matters of internal administration and the administration of justice.

ARTICLE 114. Freedom of the person cannot be impaired. An impairment or withdrawal of personal liberty through public power is admissible only as prescribed by law. Persons, whose freedom is taken from them, are to be informed at latest on the following day by what official and on what grounds their liberty was taken from them, and they shall immediately receive an opportunity to present objections against this loss of freedom.

ARTICLE 115. The home of every German is his place of refuge and cannot be violated. Exceptions are admissible only as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 116. No action can be penalized, if penalty is provided by law, before the action has been committed.

ARTICLE 117. Secrecy of letters and of postal, telegraph and telephone services cannot be impaired. Exceptions may be admissible only as prescribed by national law.

ARTICLE 118. Every German has the right within the limits of the general laws to express his opinion by word, in writing, printing, by picture, or in any other way. No connection with his labor or employment shall hinder him in the exercise of this right, and no one may injure him if he makes use of this right.

No censorship exists, though different provisions may be passed by law in the case of moving pictures. Legal measures are also permissible for combating obscene and indecent literature, as well as for the protection of youth at public plays and spectacles.

THE SOCIAL LIFE.

ARTICLE 119. Marriage, as the foundation of family life and of the maintenance and increasing of the nation, is under the particular protection of the Constitution. It is based upon the equal rights of both sexes. The maintaining of the purity, the health, and the social advancement of the family is the task of the State and the communities. Families with numerous children have a claim for compensating care. Motherhood has a claim upon the protection and care of the State.

ARTICLE 120. The education of offspring to physical, mental, and social efficiency is the highest duty and natural right of parents, whose activities are watched over by the political community.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 121. Illegitimate children are to be provided by legislation with the same conditions for their physical, mental, and social development as those of legitimate children.

ARTICLE 122. Youth is to be protected against exploitation, as well as against a lack of moral, mental, or physical guarantees. The State and the communities are to take the necessary steps to this end. Compulsory measures for welfare can be ordered only on the basis of the law.

ARTICLE 123. All Germans have the right to gather in meetings peaceably and unarmed without announcement or particular permission. Meetings in the open may be made liable to previous announcement by a national law and, in the presence of immediate danger to the public order, may be forbidden.

ARTICLE 124. All Germans have the right to form societies or associations for purposes not contrary to the penal law. This right cannot be limited through preventive measures. The same provisions apply to religious societies and unions.

Every association has the right to acquire legal character in accordance with the civil law. No society may be refused this right because it pursues a political, social-political or religious object.

ARTICLE 125. Liberty of the suffrage and its secrecy are guaranteed. Details will be laid down by the election laws.

ARTICLE 126. Every German has the right to appeal to the competent authorities or to the representatives of the people with written requests or grievances. This right may be exercised by individuals as well as by several persons together.

ARTICLE 127. Communities and community associations have the right of self-administration within the limits of the law.

ARTICLE 128. All citizens of the State, without distinction, are to be admitted to public office according to the provisions of the law and their abilities. All exceptional regulations against female officials and employes are set aside. The principles of official relations are to be regulated by a national law.

ARTICLE 129. The employment of State officials is for life, in so far as it is not provided differently by law. Pension-salaries and pensions for relatives and dependents are regulated by law. The legally acquired rights of the officials are inviolable. The legal way is open to officials for their property claims. The officials can be suspended, either temporarily or definitely, or transferred to another position with smaller salary, only under legal provisions.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

Against every demand for punishment in the service, a form of appeal and the possibility for a reopening of the trial are to be provided. In the investigation of the person of an official, facts against the official are to be recorded only when the official has had the opportunity to express himself as to the complaint. The official is to be permitted to inspect the complaint.

The inviolability of the acquired rights and the maintenance of the legal way for property complaints are especially assured to the professional soldier. For the rest, their position is regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 130. The officials are servants of the whole community, not of a party. To all officials freedom of their political beliefs and right of association is assured. The officials receive, according to special provisions in the national law, special representa-

ARTICLE 131. In case an official during the exercise of his public duties violates the duties which he owes to a third person, the responsibility comes upon the State or the authority in whose services the official is. The right to take counteraction against the official is reserved by the State. The regular lawful way shall not be excluded. The detail regulation comes under the apportioning legislation.

ARTICLE 132. Every German, according to the provision of the law, has the duty to accept honorary offices.

ARTICLE 133. All citizens are obliged, according to law, to perform personal service for the State and the community. The duty of military service is regulated according to the National Army law. This determines also how far certain fundamental provisions are to be restricted for the members of the army in order that they may fulfill their duties and that military discipline may be preserved.

ARTICLE 134. All citizens, without any distinction, shall contribute according to their means to carrying all public burdens, according to the provisions of the law.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

ARTICLE 135. All inhabitants of the nation shall enjoy complete liberty of worship and conscience. Undisturbed enjoyment of religious liberties is assured by the Constitution and is under national protection. This provision leaves the general national laws untouched.

ARTICLE 136. Civic rights, State rights and duties are neither conditioned nor limited by the enjoyment of religious liberties. The

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

enjoyment of civic and State rights as well as admission to public office are independent of religious beliefs. No one is bound to reveal his religious belief. The authorities have the right to ask for the affiliation to a religious society in so far as rights and duties depend thereon, or in case a lawfully organized census demands such information.

No one is to be forced to participate in church duties or church festivities, or to take part in religious exercises, or be compelled to give a religious oath.

ARTICLE 137. No State Church is recognized. Freedom of organization for religious purposes is assured. The union of religious societies within the nation is not restricted. Every religious society regulates and administers its affairs independently within the limits of the law. It appoints its officers without the co-operation of the State or the municipality. Religious societies acquire legality according to the prescriptions of the civic laws. The religious societies remain organizations of public law, in so far as they were such before. To other religious societies at their request the same rights are to be accorded, if by their constitution and the number of their members they give the guarantee of permanency. An amalgamation into a federation of a number of such public religious societies makes of such federation a public corporation.

Religious societies, which are recognized public corporations, are entitled, on the basis of the civic tax lists, to raise taxes according to the provisions of the respective State laws.

Societies which have as their aim the cultivation of a world conception of life are put on an equal footing with religious societies.

In so far as the carrying out of this provision requires a further regulation, it comes under the respective State laws.

ARTICLE 138. State contributions to religious societies based on public law, contract or special legal titles are abrogated by State legislation. The fundamental laws pertaining to this come under national laws.

The right of property and other rights of public religious societies and religious assemblies in connection with institutions devoted to purposes of worship, teaching and charity purpose, as well as religious foundations and other forms of property, are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 139. Sunday and national holidays remain lawfully protected as days of rest and spiritual elevation.

ARTICLE 140. To the members of the army is given the necessary time for the fulfilling of their religious duties.

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

ARTICLE 141. In so far as the need of worship and spiritual advice exists in hospitals, Houses of Correction, or other public institutions, religious societies are permitted to hold religious meetings. No compulsion shall obtain.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.

ARTICLE 142. Art, science, and their teachings are free. The State accords them protection and takes part in their promotion.

ARTICLE 143. The education of the young is to be provided for through public institutions. In their establishment the nation, States, and communities work together.

The instruction of teachers is to be regulated on a uniform basis for the nation according to the generally recognized principles of higher education.

The teachers in the public schools have the rights and duties of State officials.

ARTICLE 144. The entire school system is under the supervision of the State; it can accord participation therein to the communities. The school supervision will be exercised by technically trained central officials.

ARTICLE 145. There shall be general compulsory attendance at school. This duty will be principally attended to by the popular school with at least eight years of instruction, and the following continuation schools up to the completion of the eighteenth year. Instruction books and other apparatus in the popular and continuation schools are free.

ARTICLE 146. The public school system is to be organically constructed. Upon a basic school for every one is erected the intermediate and high school system. For this superstructure the rule for guidance is the multiplicity of life's callings, and the acceptance of a child in a particular school depends upon his qualifications and inclinations, not upon the economic and social position or the religion of his parents.

Nevertheless, within the communities, upon the proposal of those entitled to instruction, there shall be erected popular schools of their faith or view of the universe, in so far as this does not interfere with a regulated conduct of the schools in the sense of Paragraph 1. Details will be laid down in the State legislation, according to the principles of a national law.

For the attendance of those in poor circumstances at the intermediate and higher schools, public means are to be supplied by the

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

nation, States, and communities, with especial assistance to the parents of children regarded as adapted for education in the intermediate and higher schools, until the instruction period is ended.

ARTICLE 147. Private schools as a substitute for public schools require the approval of the State and are subject to the provincial laws. Approval is to be given if the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their objects, their equipment, and the scientific competency of their teaching staffs; and when a division of the pupils according to the amount of property possessed by their parents is not demanded. Approval is to be withheld when the economic and legal status of the teachers is not sufficiently guaranteed.

Private popular schools are to be allowed only when, for a minority entitled to instruction, whose desires must be considered according to Article 146, Paragraph 2, there exists in a community no public school of a given faith or world conception; or when the educational administration recognizes a particular pedagogical interest. Private preparatory schools are to be abolished. The existing law for private schools that do not serve as substitutes for the public schools remains in force.

ARTICLE 148. Moral education, civic sentiment, and personal and professional ability in the spirit of popular Germanism and of international reconciliation are to be striven for in all the schools. In giving instruction in public schools care must be taken not to hurt the feelings of those who think differently. Civics and labor instruction are branches of instruction in the schools. Every pupil will receive a copy of the Constitution upon completing his school duties. The system of popular education inclusive of the popular high schools, is to be promoted by nation, States, and communities.

ARTICLE 149. Religious instruction is a regular branch of school instruction, except in the case of schools acknowledging no creed, or worldly schools. The imparting of religious instruction will be regulated by school legislation. It will be given in accord with the principles of the religious societies concerned, without prejudice to the State's right of supervision.

The imparting of religious instruction and the using of church forms are left to the desire of the teachers, and the participation of the pupils in religious studies and in the church solemnities and acts is left to those who have the right of determining the child's religious education.

The theological Faculties of the colleges are maintained.

ARTICLE 150. The monuments of art, history, and nature, as

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

well as the landscape, enjoy the protection and care of the State. It is the affair of the nation to prevent the removal of German art possessions to foreign lands.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

ARTICLE 151. The regulation of economic life must correspond to the principles of justice, with the object of assuring to all a life worth living. Within these bounds the economic liberty of the individual is to be assured.

Legal compulsion is admissible only for the safeguarding of threatened rights or in the service of predominant demands of the public good.

The freedom of trade and industry is safeguarded according to the national laws.

ARTICLE 152. There is freedom of contract in economic relations within the limits of the law. Usury is forbidden. Legal arrangements that are in conflict with decent customs are null and void.

ARTICLE 153. Property is safeguarded by the Constitution. Its composition and limits are defined by the laws.

Confiscation can be carried out only for the benefit of the community as a whole and with due process of law. There will be appropriate compensation, as far as a national law may not otherwise prescribe. In the case of dispute as to the amount of the compensation the ordinary courts may be appealed to in so far as national laws do not provide otherwise. Confiscation by the nation from States, communities, and societies organized for the public welfare may be effected only with compensation. Property implies a duty. Its use should at the time be a service to the general welfare.

ARTICLE 154. The right of inheritance is safeguarded according to the civil law.

The State's part in the inheritance will be provided for by law.

ARTICLE 155. The division and use of the land will be watched over by the State in such a way as to prevent its misuse and to promote the object of insuring to every German a healthful dwelling and to all German families, especially those with numerous children, a dwelling and economic homestead corresponding to their needs. War veterans are to be especially considered in the homestead law to be created.

Real estate, the acquisition of which is necessary to meet housing

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

needs, to encourage settling and bringing of land under cultivation, or to promote agriculture, may be expropriated. Entailments are to be dissolved.

The working and exploitation of the land is a duty of the land owner toward the community. An increase of value of land arising without the applying of labor or capital to the property is to be made to serve the community as a whole.

All mineral treasures and all economically useful forces of nature are under the control of the State. Private rights are to be turned over to the State through legislation.

ARTICLE 156. The nation may through law, without detriment to compensation, and with proper application of the regulations covering expropriation, transfer to public to public ownership private economic enterprises adapted for socialization. The nation may itself take part in the administration of economic undertakings and societies, or transfer such right to State or communities, or insure itself a dominating influence in some other way.

Furthermore, the nation, in case of pressing necessity for the purpose of public business, may combine through law economic enterprises and societies on the basis of self-administration, with the object of insuring the co-operation of all the working sections of the people, of allowing employers and employes to participate in the administration, and of regulating the production, preparation, distribution, use and prices, as well as the import and export of economic goods, according to general economic principles.

The co-operatives of industry and husbandry and their associations, upon their request and with consideration for their composition and peculiarities, may be embodied in the common system of economics.

ARTICLE 157. Labor power is under the special protection of the nation. The nation will create uniform labor laws.

ARTICLE 158. Intellectual labor, the rights of the discoverer, the inventor and the artist, enjoy the protection and care of the nation.

The creations of German science, art and technique are to be protected and promoted abroad through international agreement.

ARTICLE 159. The right of combination for the defense and promotion of labor and economic conditions is guaranteed to everybody and to all professions. All agreements and measures which attempt to limit or impede this liberty are illegal.

ARTICLE 160. Any one employed as an office employe or a worker has a right to the time off necessary to exercise his civic

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

public honorary offices conferred upon him. The law will define how far he may demand compensation.

ARTICLE 161. For the purpose of conserving health and the ability to work, of protecting motherhood and of guarding against the economic effects of age, debilities and the vicissitudes of life, the rights and, so far as it does not materially injure the business, the nation will create a comprehensive system of insurance, with the authoritative co-operation of the insured.

ARTICLE 162. The nation favors an international regulation of the legal status of the workers that strives for a general minimum measure of social rights for the whole working class of the world.

ARTICLE 163. It is the moral duty of every German, without prejudice to his personal liberty, so to use his intellectual and physical powers as is demanded by the welfare of the community.

Every German shall receive the possibility of earning his living through economic labor. In so far as the appropriate opportunity to work cannot be given to him his necessary maintenance will be looked after. Details will be arranged through special national laws.

ARTICLE 164. The independent middle class in agriculture, industry, and trade is to be favored in legislation and administration, and is to be protected against being overburdened and made victims of extortion.

ARTICLE 165. The workers and office employees are qualified to take part with equal rights and in co-operation with the employers in the regulation of wage and labor conditions, as well as in the entire economic development of the productive forces. The organizations on both sides and their unions are recognized.

The workers and office employees receive legal representation in the Factory Workers' Councils, as well as in the District Workers' Councils grouped according to economic districts, and in a National Workers' Council, for the purpose of looking after their social and economic interests.

The District Workers' Councils and the National Workers' Council meet together with the representatives of the employers and of other interested circles of people in District Economic Councils and a National Economic Council for the purpose of carrying out the joint economic tasks and for co-operating in the putting into effect of the laws of socialization. The District Economic Councils and the National Economic Council are to be formed so as to provide for the proper representation therein of all the important trade groups according to their economic and social importance.

Social political and economic political drafts of laws of funda-

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

mental importance are to be submitted by the National Government to the National Economic Council for its opinion before presentation. The National Economic Council has the right itself to propose such plans of laws. If the National Government does not agree with it, it has the right, nevertheless, to present the proposal to the Reichstag with an exposition of its standpoint. The National Economic Council may have its proposal represented by one of its members before the Reichstag.

The Workers' and Economic Councils may have conferred upon them the powers of control and administration in the fields turned over to them.

The building up of the Workers' and Economic Councils and the defining of their duties, as well as their relations to other social self-administrative bodies, are exclusively matters of the nation.

TRANSITORY AND FINAL REGULATIONS.

ARTICLE 166. Until the establishment of the National Administrative Court the National Court will take its place in forming the Court for Examining Elections.

ARTICLE 167. The regulations of Article 18, Paragraphs 3 to 6, become effective two years after the announcement that the Constitution has gone into force.

ARTICLE 168. Until the promulgation of the State law provided for in Article 63, but at the most for only one year, all the Prussian votes in the National Council may be cast by members of the Government.

ARTICLE 169. The National Government will determine when the regulation laid down in Article 83, Paragraph 1, is to become effective.

ARTICLE 170. The Postal and Telegraph Administrations of Bavaria and Wurttemberg will be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

The former rights and duties of Bavaria and Wurttemberg remain in force until the act of taking over. Nevertheless, the postal and telegraph traffic with neighboring foreign countries will be regulated exclusively by the nation.

ARTICLE 171. The State railroads, waterways, and ocean

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

signal systems are to be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

ARTICLE 172. Until the national law regarding the Supreme Court becomes effective its powers will be exercised by a Senate of seven members, four of whom are to be elected from among its members by the Reichstag and three by the National High Court. This Senate will arrange its own methods of procedure.

ARTICLE 173. Until the enactment of a national law provided for in Article 146, Paragraph 2, the legal status existing will continue. The law will pay special attention to districts of the nation where a system of schools not separated according to faiths legally exists.

ARTICLE 175. The regulations of Article 109 do not apply to orders and decorations conferred for services in the war years of 1914-1919.

ARTICLE 176. All public officials and members of the army are to be sworn upon this Constitution. The details will be fixed by an order of the national President.

ARTICLE 177. Where in the existing laws it is provided that the oath be taken in connection with a religious form, the taking of the oath can be made legal by having the swearer say, leaving out the religious form, "I swear." For the rest the contents of the oath provided for in the laws remains undisturbed.

ARTICLE 178. The Constitution of the German Empire of April 16, 1871, and the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority of Feb. 10, 1919, are annulled.

The other laws and regulations of the nation remain in force, in so far as they are not in contradiction with this Constitution. The arrangements contained in the Peace Treaty signed on June 28, 1919, at Versailles, are not affected by the Constitution.

Ordinances of the authorities legally issued on the strength of previously existing laws retain their power until annulled through other ordinances or legislation.

ARTICLE 179. In so far as reference is made in laws or ordinances to regulations and institutions which are abolished by this Constitution their places will be taken by the corresponding regulations and institutions of this Constitution. In particular the place of the National Assembly will be taken by the Reichstag, that of the Committee of States by the National Council, and the place of

CONSTITUTION OF GERMANY

national President elected on the strength of the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority, by the national President elected under the authority of this Constitution.

The power to issue ordinances conferred upon the Committee of States through the former provisions is transferred to the national Government; the Government in issuing ordinances requires the approval of the National Council as laid down in this Constitution.

ARTICLE 180. Until the convening of the first Reichstag the National Assembly will function as the Reichstag. Until the installment of the first national President his office will be filled by the national President elected on the strength of the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority.

ARTICLE 181. The German people have adopted and decreed this Constitution through its National Assembly. It goes into effect upon the day of its publication.—Current History Magazine, published by the New York Times, September number.

CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

The following translation of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic is made from an official printed text embodying the latest revisions, and required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia.

RESOLUTION OF THE FIFTH ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS, ADOPTED ON JULY 10, 1918.

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet Government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE LABORING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.

CHAPTER II.

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

(a) For the purpose of attaining the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among agriculturists without any compensation to the former owners, in the measures of each one's ability to till it.

(b) All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all equipment whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises, are declared to be national property.

(c) As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to insure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

(d) With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet Government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

(e) The transfer of all banks to the ownership of the Workers'

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

and Peasants' Government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

(f) Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

(g) For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all workers be armed, and that Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class disarmed.

CHAPTER III.

4. Expressing its fixed resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in its present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of abrogating secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of peoples.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the working population of Asia, of the colonies, and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

CHAPTER IV.

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters should not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet Government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the Federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets, namely, whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the Federal Government and other Federal Soviet institutions.

ARTICLE 2

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER V.

9. The fundamental problem of the constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic upon a federal basis.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the workers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means for the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federal Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes, and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it therefore introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is accorded only to the workers, and the non-working elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the workers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in work and who belong to the working class. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, recognizing the equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims all privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be contrary to the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE 3

ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET POWER.

A. ORGANIZATION OF THE CENTRAL POWER.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', PEASANTS', COSSACKS', AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES.

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

25. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one delegate for 25,000 voters), and of representatives of the provincial (**Gubernia**) congresses of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1: In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the County (**Ouezd**) Congress.

Note 2: In case the Regional (**Oblast**) Congress is convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of the All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the Workers' and Peasants' Government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolutions of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars.

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great political significance are referred for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

Note: Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars: (a) Foreign Affairs; (b) Army, (c) Navy, (d) Interior, (e) Justice, (f) Labor, (g) Social Welfare, (h) Education, (i) Post and Telegraph, (j) National Affairs, (k) Finances, (l) Ways of Communication, (m) Agriculture, (n) Commerce and Industry, (o) National Supplies, (p) State Control, (q) Supreme Soviet of National Economy, (r) Public Health.

44. Every Commissar has a Collegium (Committee) of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars.

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide on all questions under the jurisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the Collegium. If the Collegium does not agree with the Commissar on some decisions, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Commissars or to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Individual members of the Collegium have this right also.

46. The Council of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissars and the Collegia of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissar belongs only to the members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

CHAPTER IX.

AFFAIRS IN THE JURISDICTION OF THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS AND THE ALL-RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

49. The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as:

(a) Ratification and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

(b) General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(c) Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(d) Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

(e) Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any parts of it.

(f) The general administrative division of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the approval of regional unions.

(g) Establishing and changing weights, measures, and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(h) Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.

(i) Making loans, signing commercial treaties and financial agreements.

(j) Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for its various branches in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(k) Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

(l) Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state.

(m) Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

(n) State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

(o) Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissars or the entire Council, also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

(p) Granting and cancelling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.

(q) The right to declare individual and general amnesty.

50. Besides the above mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which, according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress:

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

(a) Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Constitution.

(b) Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of questions indicated in Paragraphs (c) and (h) of Section 49 may be made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

B. ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL SOVIETS.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONGRESS OF THE SOVIETS

53. Congresses of Soviets are composed as follows:

(a) Regional: of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities—but not more than 500 representatives for the entire region—or of representatives of the provincial Congresses, chosen on the same basis, if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress.

(b) Provincial (**Gubernia**): of representatives of urban and rural (**Volost**) Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants from the rural districts, and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of the rural.

(c) County: of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more than 300 delegates for the entire county.

(d) Rural (**Volost**): of representatives of all village Soviets in the **Volost**, one delegate for ten members of the Soviet.

Note 1: Representatives of urban Soviets which have a population of not more than 10,000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress.

Note 2: Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural (**Volost**) Congress.

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire popula-

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

tion of the given district. In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month for rural districts.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county, or rural) elects its Executive organ—an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed: (a) for regions and provinces, twenty-five; (b) for a county, twenty; (c) for a rural district, ten. The Executive Committee is responsible to the Congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the Executive Committee is the supreme power.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOVIET OF DEPUTIES.

57. Soviets of Deputies are formed:

(a) In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than fifty and not more than 1,000 members.

(b) All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabitants; the total to be not less than three and not more than fifty deputies for each settlement.

Terms of the deputy, three months.

Note: In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviet of Deputies elects an Executive Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than five members for rural districts, one for every fifty members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than fifteen and not less than three in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than forty). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet which elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Section 57, Note, the meeting of the voters is the supreme power in the given district.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

CHAPTER XII.

JURISDICTION OF THE LOCAL ORGANS OF THE SOVIETS.

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural organs of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of Deputies have to perform the following duties:

(a) Carry out all orders of the respective higher organs of the Soviet power.

(b) Take all steps for raising the cultural and economic standard of the given territory.

(c) Decide all questions of local importance within their respective territories.

(d) Co-ordinate all Soviet activity in their respective territories.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Executive Committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional Congress controls all Soviets of the respective region; the provincial, of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, etc.); and the regional and provincial Congresses and their Executive Committees have in addition the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties, the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive Committees form sections respectively.

ARTICLE 4.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

CHAPTER XIII.

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens of both sexes, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

(a) All who have acquired the means of livelihood through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employes of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

(b) Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

(c) Citizens of the two preceding categories who have in any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Non-citizens mentioned in Section 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

(a) Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

(b) Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

(c) Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

(d) Monks and clergy of all denominations.

(e) Employes and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the *Okhrana* (Czar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

(f) Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

(g) Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offenses, for the period fixed by the sentence.

CHAPTER XIV.

ELECTIONS.

66. Elections are conducted according to custom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an election committee and the representative of the local Soviet.

68. In case the representative of the Soviet cannot for valid causes be present, the chairman of the election committee takes his place, and in case the latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him.

69. Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the election committee and the representative of the Soviet.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

70. Detailed instructions regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other workers' organizations are to be issued by the local Soviets, according to the instructions of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CHECKING AND CANCELLATIONS OF ELECTIONS AND RECALL OF THE DEPUTIES.

71. The respective Soviets receive all the records of the proceedings of the election.

72. The Soviet appoints a commission to verify the election.

73. This commission reports the results to the Soviet.

74. The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75. The Soviet announces a new election if the election of one candidate or another cannot be determined.

76. If an election was irregularly carried on in its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher Soviet authority.

77. The highest authority in relation to questions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviet have the right to recall him, and to have a new election, according to general provisions.

ARTICLE 5.

THE BUDGET.

CHAPTER XVI.

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariat facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local and state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

80. The state expenditure and income of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matters of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes.

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury.

83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense shall be made without a special order of the central power.

84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures for general state needs.

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and annual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power, are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses or by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. The Soviets may ask for additional credits from the respective People's Commissariats for expenditures not set forth in the estimate, or where the allotted sum is insufficient.

88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

ARTICLE 6.

THE COAT OF ARMS AND FLAG OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER XVII.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath.

SOVIET CONSTITUTION

90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left corner of which (on top, near the pole) are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—J. Sverdlov.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee:
T. I. Teodorovitch, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanov, G. K. Maximov.

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—
V. A. Avanessov.

LAWS AND DECREES.

The following documents are taken in part from a collection in the Library of Congress at Washington and in part from a volume of laws, regulations, and decrees published by the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of the province of Tomsk, Russia. The documents selected have appeared in various issues of the International Relations section of the Nation.

LAND LAW.

The "Fundamental Law of Socialization of the Land" went into effect in September, 1918, replacing the earlier and briefer Land Decrees of November 7, 1917.

DIVISION I.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

ARTICLE 1. All property rights in the land, treasures of the earth, waters, forests, and fundamental natural resources within the boundaries of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic are abolished.

ARTICLE 2 The land passes over to the use of the entire laboring population without any compensation, open or secret, to the former owners.

ARTICLE 3. The right to use the land belongs to those who till it by their own labor, with the exception of special cases covered by this decree.

ARTICLE 4. The right to use the land cannot be limited by sex, religion, nationality, or foreign citizenship.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

ARTICLE 5. The sub-surface deposits, the forests, waters, and fundamental natural resources are at the disposition (according to their character) of the county, provincial, regional, and Federal Soviet powers and are under the control of the latter. The method of disposition and utilization of the sub-surface deposits, waters, and fundamental natural resources will be dealt with by a special decree.

November 29, 1919.

Mr. Bartow H. Ulrich,
155 North Clark Street,
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Ulrich:

We have your letter of November 21st asking us to quote you a price on sheets of the Russian Constitution to be inserted in your book.

We believe that it would be a difficult, and perhaps unsatisfactory matter for us to undertake this work here, and we should be perfectly willing to have you reprint the Constitution at your own printers if you will give credit to "The Nation" for the translation.

Very truly yours,

HELEN BLACK,
For Readers' Service Dept.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON FEBRUARY 29, APPROVED
BY THE PRESIDENT ON MARCH 5, 1920.

PREAMBLE

We, the Czechoslovak nation, in order to form a more perfect union of the nation, establish justice and order in the Republic, insure tranquil development of the Czechoslovak homeland, promote the general welfare of all the citizens of this state and secure the blessings of liberty to future generations, have adopted in our National Assembly on the 29th day of February, 1920, a constitution for the Czechoslovak Republic, the text of which follows. On this occasion, we the Czechoslovak nation, declare that we shall endeavor to have this constitution and all laws of our land carried out in the spirit of our history and also in the spirit of modern principles, contained in the world, self-determination; for we desire to join the society of nations as an enlightened, peaceful, democratic and progressive member.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

I. Laws in conflict with the constitution, the fundamental laws which are a part of it, and laws which may supplement or amend it are void.

The constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it may be changed or supplemented only by laws designated as constitutional laws.

II. The constitutional court decides whether laws of the Czechoslovak Republic and laws of the diet of Carpathian Russia comply with Article I.

III. The constitutional court consists of seven members. The supreme administrative court and the supreme court each designate two members. The remaining two members, together with the president of the court, are appointed by the president of the Republic.

Regulation of the manner in which the two above mentioned courts select members of the constitutional court, its functioning, rules of procedure and effects of its judgments is determined by law.

IV. The existing National Assembly shall remain in session until the chamber of deputies and the senate are constituted.

Laws adopted by this National Assembly, but not proclaimed on the day when the chamber of deputies and the senate are constituted, may not go into effect, if returned by the president of the Republic to the National Assembly.

As to the term, set by the provisional constitution for the exercise of the right of the president of the Republic according to Section 11 and for the duty to proclaim the adopted laws, the laws passed by the existing National Assembly shall be governed by the provisional constitution.

V. The present president remains in office until a new election has taken place. From the day of which this constitution goes into effect he shall possess the rights herein granted.

VI. Until there is elected the full number of members of the chamber of deputies and the senate provided for in the constitution the number of members actually elected shall be applied to determine the quorum of deputies and senators required by the constitution.

VII. Provisions of Article I., II. and III. (paragraph 1) form a part of the constitution in accordance with Section 33 of this instrument.

Enabling laws referred to in the constitution are not a part of this instrument within the scope of Section 1, unless otherwise expressly stated by the constitution.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

VIII. The constitution hereto attached goes into effect on the day of its proclamation.

Section 20 of the constitution does not apply to members of the existing National Assembly.

IX. On the day stated in paragraph 1 of Section VIII. all ordinances in conflict with the constitution and the republican form of government, as well as all former constitutional laws, even though some of their provisions may not be in conflict with the fundamental laws of of the Czechoslovak Republic, become void.

X. This law goes into effect simultaneously with the constitution, and the government is charged with carrying out this law and the constitution.

1. The people are the only source of all state authority in the Czechoslovak Republic.

The constitution determines through what organs the sovereign people adopt laws, carry them out and find justice. The constitution also sets the limits which these organs may not exceed, so that the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens may be protected.

2. The Czechoslovak State is a democratic republic at the head of which is an elected president.

3. The territory of the Czechoslovak Republic forms an unitary and indivisible whole, the frontiers of which may be changed only by fundamental law.

An indivisible part of this whole, on the basis of voluntary union in accordance with the treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and the Czechoslovak Republic in Saint-Germain-en-Laye September 10, 1919, is the autonomous territory of Carpathian Russia which will receive the widest autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Carpathian Russia has its own diet which elects its own officers.

The diet of Carpathian Russia is competent to make laws in matters of language, instruction, religion, local administration, as well as in other matters which may be assigned to it by the laws of the Czechoslovak Republic. Laws adopted by the diet of Carpathian Russia and signed by the president of the Republic are proclaimed in a separate series and shall also be signed by the governor.

Carpathian Russia shall be represented in the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic by the proper number of deputies and senators in accordance with Czechoslovak election laws.

At the head of Carpathian Russia stands the governor appointed by the president of the Czechoslovak Republic upon nomination by the government; he shall be responsible also to the diet of the Carpathian Russia.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Public servants of Carpathian Russia shall as far as possible be taken from its own population.

Details, especially the right to vote and to be elected to diet, are regulated by special enactments.

The law of National Assembly, determining the boundaries of Carpathian Russia, shall form a part of the constitution.

4. Citizenship of the Czechoslovak Republic is one and unitary.

Rules governing the acquiring of citizenship, its effects and its loss are determined by law.

A citizen or subject of a foreign state may not at the same time be a citizen of Czechoslovak Republic.

5. Prague is the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The colors of the Republic are white, red and blue.

Coat of arms and flags are prescribed by law.

6. Legislative authority for the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic is exercised by the National Assembly which consists of two houses: chamber of deputies and the senate.

Both houses meet regularly in Prague. In cases of absolute necessity they may be called to meet temporarily in some other place in the Czechoslovak Republic.

7. Legislative and administrative power of land diets is abolished.

Unless a law adopted by the National Assembly provides otherwise, it applies to the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic.

8. The chamber of deputies consists of 300 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

9. The right to vote for members of the chamber of deputies belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 21 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law governing elections to the chamber of deputies.

10. Eligible are those citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 30 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law governing elections to chamber of deputies.

12. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law governing elections to chamber of deputies.

13. The senate consists of 150 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

14. The right to vote for members of the senate belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 26 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the senate.

15. Eligible are those citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, without distinction of sex, who have reached 45 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the senate.

16. The term for which senators are elected is eight years.

17. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the senate.

18. No one may be a member of both houses.

19. Contested elections to the chamber of deputies and the senate are passed upon by the electoral court. Details are regulated by law.

20. An employee of the state who is elected to the National Assembly and qualifies as member receives a leave of absence for the duration of his term and is entitled to his regular salary, not including therein local or active supplement of the same, as well as to seniority promotion. University professors are entitled to leave of absence; if they make use of this right the same provisions apply to them as to other state servants.

Other public servants are entitled to leave of absence, while they are members of the National Assembly.

Members of the National Assembly may receive a salaried state appointment only after the expiration of one year from the time they cease to be members of the National Assembly.

This provision does not apply to ministers. The time limit of one year, contained in the previous paragraph, does not apply to deputies and senators who were in the service of the state before their election to the National Assembly, if they remain in the same department of service.

Members of county assemblies, and county and district chiefs may not be members of the National Assembly. Judges of the constitutional court and associate judges of the electoral court may not at the same time sit in the National Assembly.

21. Members of either house may resign at any time.

22. Members of the National Assembly carry out their mandates in person; they may not receive orders from anyone.

They may not intervene with public authorities in party interests. This prohibition does not apply to members of the National Assembly in so far as intervention with authorities is a part of their regular duties.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

In the first meeting of the house which they attend they shall make the following pledge: "I promise that I will be faithful to the Czechoslovak Republic, that I will observe the laws and execute my trust according to my best knowledge and conscience." Refusal of the pledge or pledge with reservation carry with it automatic loss of mandate.

23. Members of the National Assembly cannot be molested by reason of their vote in the house or committees. For anything they may say in the exercise of their mandate they are subject only to the disciplinary power of the house.

24. Before a member of the National Assembly may be prosecuted or disciplined for other acts or omissions, the consent of the proper house must be obtained. If the house refuses its consent, prosecution is dropped permanently.

These provisions do not apply to criminal liability which a member of the National Assembly may incur as responsible editor.

25. If a member of either house is arrested in the commission of a criminal offense, the court or other proper authority shall inform the president of the house at once of the arrest. Unless the house, or during the adjournment of the National Assembly the commission elected in accordance with Section 54 signifies within 14 days its consent to further imprisonment, imprisonment ceases. Should the commission give its consent the house itself shall decide the question of further imprisonment within 14 days of its convening.

26. Members of both houses may refuse to testify as to matters which were confided to them as members of the house, even after they have ceased to be members. This does not apply to charges of seducing a member of either house to abuse his trust.

27. Members of both houses shall receive compensation provided by law.

28. The president of the Republic shall call both houses into two regular sessions annually in spring and fall. The spring session commences in March, the fall session in October.

He may also call the houses into special sessions according to need. If a majority of either house makes a demand for special session on the president of the government, stating the nature of special business, the president shall cause the houses to meet within 14 days from the date of demand. In case of his failure to act the houses shall convene simultaneously within the following 14 days at the call of their presidents.

When more than four months have elapsed since the last regular session, the president of the Republic shall at the request of

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

at least two-fifths of either house call the houses to meet within 14 days of the date of the request. In case of his failure to act the houses shall convene simultaneously within the following 14 days at the call of their presidents.

29. Sessions of both houses open and close at the same time.

30. The president of the Republic declares the session closed.

He may prorogue the houses for no longer than one month and not oftener than once a year.

31. The president of the Republic may dissolve the houses. He may not exercise this right within the last six months of his term of office. At the expiration of the term of either house or at the dissolution of either house new elections shall take place within 60 days.

Dissolution of the senate does not stay criminal proceedings that may be pending before the senate in accordance with Sections 67 and 79.

32. The quorum of either house, except where otherwise provided for herein, is one-third of the entire membership; all acts to be valid must receive a majority vote of those present.

33. Declaration of war, amendment of the constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part thereof may be done only by affirmative vote of three-fifths of all members of both houses.

34. The chamber of deputies may impeach the president of the Republic, the president of the government and members of the government by a two-thirds majority in the presence of two-thirds of the membership.

Proceedings before the senate as a high court are regulated by law.

35. Each house elects its own president, officers and functionaries.

36. Sessions of the chamber of deputies and the senate are public. Executive sessions may be held only in cases enumerated in the rules of proceedings.

37. The fundamental principles of the relations of both houses to each other, to the government and to all outside them are regulated by special law within the limits set by constitutional provisions. For the transaction of its business each house adopts its own rules.

Until the house of deputies and the senate adopt their own rules, the rules of the existing National Assembly shall apply.

38. When both houses meet as National Assembly, the rules of the house of deputies apply.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Such a joint session is called by the president of the government and presided over by the president of the chamber of deputies.

His alternate is president of the senate.

39. Ministers may participate at any time in the meetings of either house and of all committees. They shall be given the floor, whenever they desire to speak.

40. At the request of either house or its committee the minister shall attend its meeting.

Otherwise the minister may be represented by officials of his department.

41. Bills may be submitted either by the government or by either house.

A bill submitted by members of either house shall be accompanied by a statement of expenses involved in the bill and by a recommendation as to how they shall be defrayed.

Government proposals for financial and army bills shall be laid first before the chamber of deputies.

42. Changes in fundamental laws shall be concurred in by both houses. This applies also to other laws, except as otherwise provided in Sections 43, 44 and 48.

43. The senate shall take action on a bill passed by the house of deputies within six weeks; on financial and army bills within one month. The house of deputies shall take action on bill adopted by the senate within three months.

These time limits run from the day, when the printed act of one house is delivered to the other house; by consent of both houses these time limits may be extended or shortened. The limit of one month within which the senate shall take action on financial and army bills cannot be extended.

If during the limit of the term of the house which is to take action on the bill is dissolved, prorogued or its session closed, the limit begins to run anew from its next meeting.

If the second house takes no action within the above time limits, the failure is considered equivalent to approval of the decision of the first house.

44. A measure passed by the chamber of deputies shall become law in spite of the dissent of the senate, if the chamber of deputies by a vote of the majority of the entire membership reaffirms its original vote. If the senate rejects by a three-fourths majority of the entire membership a bill which was passed by the chamber of deputies the bill becomes law only if re-passed by the chamber of deputies by a majority of three-fifths of the entire membership.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Proposals of the senate are submitted to the chamber of deputies. If the latter rejects the senate bill and the senate reaffirms its original vote by a majority vote of the entire membership, the bill is submitted once more to the chamber of deputies. If the chamber of deputies rejects the senate bill by a majority vote of the entire membership, the bill fails.

Bills which thus failed cannot be resubmitted in either house before the expiration of one year.

Amendment of a bill passed by one house in the other house is equivalent to rejection.

45. If either house has to consider for the second time a bill which is once voted or consider again a bill passed by the other house, and should the house be dissolved or its term expire before reconsideration, the action of the new house on the matter shall be considered to be its second action in the sense of Section 44.

46. If the National Assembly rejects a government bill, the government may order a popular vote to be taken on the question, whether the bill shall become law. Such a decision of the government must be unanimous.

The right of vote belongs to all who are entitled to vote for members of chamber of deputies.

Details are regulated by law.

Popular vote does not apply to governmental proposals changing or amending the constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it.

47. The president of the Republic may return with his objections a law passed by the National Assembly within one month from the day on which it was delivered to the government.

48. If both houses in a roll call reaffirm their vote by a majority of the entire membership, the measure shall be proclaimed law.

If such a concurrent majority of both houses is not reached, the measure will nevertheless become law, if in a new roll call the chamber of deputies votes for it by three-fifths of the entire membership.

If the measure in question is one which requires the larger quorum and higher majority, the returned measure must be adopted in the presence of this quorum by the specified majority.

The provisions of Section 45 apply here also.

49. A law does not go into effect, until it is proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law.

Laws are proclaimed by this clause: "The National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic adopted the following law:"

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Laws shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the limit set in Section 47. If the president of the Republic makes use of his right there referred to, the law shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the day, when re-enactment by National Assembly is communicated to the government.

50. Every law must state which member of the government is charged with its execution.

51. The law shall be signed by the president of the Republic, the president of the government and the minister charged to execute the law. If the president is disabled or ill and has no deputy, the president of the government signs on his behalf.

The president of the government may be represented in the signing of laws in the manner provided for in Section 71.

52. Each house has the right to interpellate the president and members of the government on all matters within their jurisdiction, inquire into administrative acts of the government, appoint committees to which the ministers shall submit information, adopt addresses and resolutions.

The president and members of the government shall answer the interpellations of the members of the houses.

53. The manner in which state financial economy and state debt is controlled is regulated by law.

54. (1) In the period between the dissolution of either house or the expiration of its term and the next convening of both houses, and also during the time, when the session of the two houses is prorogued or closed, a commission of twenty-four members may enact urgent measures which have the force of law. The chamber of deputies elect sixteen members with sixteen alternates, and the senate elects eight members and eight alternates for the term of one year. Each alternate takes the place of a definite member.

(2) First elections take place as soon as the two houses are organized. Presidents and vice-presidents of both houses take part in voting. When a new house has been elected, it selects new members of the commission, even though the one year term of sitting members has not expired.

(3) The principle of proportionate representation shall be applied in these elections. Parties may combine. If all parties agree, members of the commission may be selected from the body of the house. This may be done, if objectors do not exceed twenty deputies or ten senators.

(4) Members of the commission remain in office, until their successors are elected. Alternates take the place of members who permanently or temporarily are unable to perform their duties. If

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

there is a vacancy in the office of either member or alternate, supplementary election is had for the balance of the term. Newly elected member must belong to the same group as the former member, unless the group in question should fail to nominate a candidate or refuse to participate in electing.

(5) A member of the government may not be member of commission or his alternate.

(6) As soon as the commission is elected, it shall organize itself by electing a president and second vice-president out of members of the house of deputies, and first vice-presidents out of senate members.

(7) Sections 23 to 27 of the constitution apply to members of the commission.

(8) The commission may act in all matters that come within the legislative and administrative jurisdiction of the National Assembly, but it cannot

(a) elect the president of the Republic or his deputy;

(b) amend fundamental laws or change jurisdiction of public authorities.

(c) impose by its measures upon citizens new and lasting financial duties, increase military obligation, burden permanently the state finances or alienate state property:

(d) give its consent to declaration of war.

(9) A measure which is to have the effect of law or which authorizes expenditures not provided for in the budget must be approved by a majority of the entire membership.

(10) In all other cases the commission may act in the presence of one-half of its membership by a majority vote of those present. The President votes only to break the tie.

(11) Emergency measures which are in the nature of law may be adopted only upon recommendation of the government, approved by a majority of those present. The President votes only to break the tie.

(12) Acts of the commission referred to in the preceding section have temporarily the effect of law; they are proclaimed, with a reference to Section 54, in the series of laws and ordinances, and they are signed by the president of the Republic, president of the government or his deputy, and at least one-half of the ministers. Acts which are not signed by the president of the Republic may not be proclaimed.

(13) The jurisdiction of the constitutional court extends to measures which are in the nature of law; they shall be submitted to the court by the government at the time of their proclamation in the series of laws and ordinances. The constitutional court decides, whether measures submitted to it comply with Paragraph 8b.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

(14) President of the commission and vice-president submit a report of the actions of the commission in the first sessions of the chamber of deputies and the senate, even though they may have ceased to be members.

(15) Measures which are not approved by both houses within two months of their convening are thereafter void.

55. Ordinances may be issued only for the purpose of carrying out a definite law and within its terms.

56. The president of the Republic is elected by the National Assembly.

He shall be a citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, qualified to be member of the chamber of deputies and 35 years of age.

57. Election is held in the presence of the majority of the total membership of both houses, and a vote of three-fifths of those present is necessary.

If two ballots result in no choice, the new balloting is limited to the highest candidates; he who receives a plurality of votes is elected. In case of tie the decision is made by lot.

Details are governed by law.

58. The term of office commences on the day when the newly elected president makes the promise, as provided in Section 65.

The term of office is seven years.

Election is held within the last four weeks of an expiring term.

No one may be elected for more than two successive terms. A person who has served as president for two successive terms cannot be elected again, until seven years shall have elapsed from the expiration of his last term. This provision does not apply to the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The former president continues in office until new president is elected.

59. Should the president die or resign during his term of office, a new election is held in accordance with provisions of Sections 56 and 57 for a term of seven years. The National Assembly shall be convened for that purpose within fourteen days.

60. Until the new president is elected (Section 59), or if the president is prevented by ill-health or other cause from performing his office, his authority is exercised by the government which may entrust definite functions to its own president.

61. If the president is incapacitated or ill for more than six

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

months (Section 60), and if the government so decides in the presence of three-fourths of its members, the National Assembly will elect an acting president who will serve as such, until the impediment is removed.

During the period for which a person is not eligible to be president in accordance with Section 58 he cannot be acting president.

62. The election of acting president is governed by rules applying to the election of president.

63. The president of the Republic may not be at the same time member of the National Assembly. If a member of the National Assembly is elected acting president, he cannot execute his mandate in the National Assembly, while he is exercising the office of president.

64. The president of the Republic:

(1) Represents the state in its foreign relations. He negotiates and ratifies international treaties. Commercial treaties, treaties which impose upon the state or the citizens burdens of a financial or personal nature, especially military, and treaties which change the boundaries of the state, need the consent of the National Assembly. In the case of changes of boundaries the consent of the National Assembly must take the form of a constitutional law (Article I of the enabling laws);

(2) Receives and accredits diplomatic representatives;

(3) Proclaims state of war to exist, declares war after first obtaining the consent of the National Assembly, and lays before it the negotiated treaty of peace for its approval;

(4) Convenes, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly (Sections 28 to 31) and declares the session of the houses closed;

(5) May return bills with his objections (Section 47) and signs laws of the National Assembly (Section 51), of the diet of Carpathian Russia (Section 3), and ordinances of the commission (Section 54);

(6) Gives to the National Assembly oral or written information of the state of the Republic and recommends to their consideration such measures as he may deem necessary and expedient;

(7) Appoints and dismisses ministers and determines their number;

(8) Appoints all professors of universities, and all judges, civil officials and army officers of the sixth or higher rank;

(9) Grants gifts and pensions in special cases upon motion of the government;

10. Is commander-in-chief of all armed forces;

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

(11) Grants pardons in accordance with Section 103.

All governing and executive power, in so far as the constitution and laws of the Czechoslovak Republic, adopted after November 15, 1918, do not expressly reserve it to the president of the Republic, shall be exercised by the government (Section 70).

65. The president of the Republic promises before the National Assembly (Section 58) upon his honor and conscience that he will study the welfare of the Republic and the people and that he will observe constitutional and other laws.

66. The president of the Republic is not responsible for the execution of his office. For his utterances, connected with the office of the president, the government is responsible.

67. He may be criminally prosecuted only for high treason before the senate upon impeachment by the chamber of deputies (Section 34). The punishment may extend only to the loss of his office and disqualification ever to hold it again.

Details are determined by law.

68. Every act of the president in the exercise of his governing or executive power is valid only when countersigned by a responsible member of the government.

69. Provisions applying to the president of the Republic apply also to the acting president (Section 61).

70. The president and members of the government (ministers) are appointed and dismissed by the president of the Republic.

The ordinary seat of the government is Prague (Section 6).

71. The government elects from its membership the president's deputy who may take his place. If the deputy is unable to act, the oldest member of the government in years acts as president.

72. The president of the Republic decides over which department each minister shall preside.

73. Members of the government promise to the president of the Republic, upon their honor and conscience, that they will conscientiously and impartially perform their duties and observe constitutional and other laws.

74. No member of the government may sit on the board of directors or act as representative of a stock company or a firm which is engaged in business for profit.

75. The government is responsible to the chamber of deputies, which may declare its lack of confidence in the government. This shall be done in the presence of the majority of the entire membership by a majority vote upon a roll call.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

76. Motion to declare lack of a confidence shall be signed by at least one hundred deputies and shall be referred to committee, which will submit its report within eight days.

77. The government may ask the chamber of deputies to vote its confidence. This motion shall be acted upon without reference to committee.

78. If the chamber of deputies declares lack of confidence in the government or if it rejects the motion of government for a vote of confidence, the government shall hand its resignation to the president of the Republic, who will select the persons who are to carry on the affairs of state, until a new government is formed.

If the government resigns at a time, when there is neither president nor acting president, the commission provided for in Section 54 accepts the resignation and takes steps to have the administration carried on.

79. If the president or members of the government violate fundamental or other laws by their official acts either intentionally or from gross negligence, they are responsible criminally.

Right to impeach belongs to the chamber of deputies, and the trial is held before the senate.

Details are regulated by law.

80. The government acts as a college which is competent to take action only in the presence of the president or acting president and a majority of the ministers.

81. The government decides corporatively in particular:

(a) Government measures for the National Assembly, government ordinances (Section 84), and recommendations to the president of the Republic to make use of the power given him by Section 74;

(b) All matters of a political nature;

(c) Appointment of judges and civil officials of the eighth and higher ranks, as far as this appertains to the central authorities, and nominations of functionaries who are appointed by the president of the Republic (Section 64, Paragraph 8).

82. The president of the Republic may attend and preside over the meetings of the government; he may require of the government and its members written opinion of any matter relating to the duties of their office.

83. The president of the Republic may invite the government or its members for consultation.

84. Every government ordinance shall be signed by the president

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

of the government or the acting president, and also by ministers charged with its execution, and in no case less than half the ministers.

85. The jurisdiction of the ministries is regulated by law.

86. In the lower state administrative offices the citizen element shall be, as far as possible, represented, and the protection of the rights and interests of the citizens (administrative judicature) shall be effectively provided.

87. No one may be at the same time an elected member of an inferior administrative organ and also of an organ that is superior or exercises supervision over the former.

88. Judicial protection against administrative organs shall be provided by the supreme administrative court, composed of independent judges, with jurisdiction over the territory of the entire Republic.

Exceptions may be made by law.

89. The nature and authority of the inferior organs of state administration is settled in principle by law which may leave details to government ordinances.

90. State organs which are entrusted with economic functions only, without exercising the sovereign authority of the state, are created and organized by ordinances.

91. The nature and authority of autonomous organs is regulated by special law.

92. The law determines, to what extent the state shall be responsible for illegal execution of governmental authority.

93. Public employees shall in their official acts observe fundamental and other laws. This applies also to citizen members of administrative colleges.

IV. JUDICIAL POWER.

94. The judicial power is exercised by state courts; the law prescribes their organization, their jurisdiction and their procedure.

No one may be sent before any other judge but the one who has jurisdiction by law.

Only in criminal matters extraordinary courts may be introduced, and then in cases prescribed by law in advance and for a limited period.

95. Judicial power in civil cases belongs to civil courts, either regular or special and arbitration courts; judicial power in criminal matters belongs to regular criminal courts, in so far as it is not

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

assigned to military criminal courts, and except as such matters may, in accordance with general ordinances, be dealt with by police or financial punitive procedure.

For the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic there shall be one supreme court.

The place of juries in judicial procedure is regulated by special laws.

Jury trials may be temporarily suspended in cases provided for by law.

The jurisdiction of courts-martial may be extended to civil population in accordance with the provisions of law only in time of war and for acts done during the war.

96. Judicial power is in all instances separated from administration.

Conflicts of jurisdiction between courts and administrative organs are regulated by law.

97. Qualifications of professional judges are determined by law.

Judges shall take an oath of office that they will observe the laws.

The status of judges in the service of state is regulated by special law.

98. All judges shall execute their office independently of all considerations except only the law.

99. Professional judges are appointed permanently; they may not be transferred, demoted or pensioned against their will, except should there be a new organization of courts and then only during the period provided for by the law, or by virtue of a proper disciplinary finding; they may be pensioned also by a proper finding, when they reach the legal retirement age. Details are regulated by law which also prescribes, under what conditions judges may be suspended from office.

Judicial senates in courts of first and second instance are in session all year; exceptions are made by law.

100. Judgments are pronounced in the name of the Republic.

Sessions of court are oral and public; judgments in criminal cases are declared in public; the public may be excluded from court sessions only in cases enumerated by law.

In trials of criminal cases the principle of accusation applies.

101. Professional judges may not hold any other paid position, permanent or temporary, except as otherwise provided by law.

102. Judges in passing upon a legal question may examine the

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

validity of an ordinance; as to law they may only inquire, whether it was properly promulgated (Section 51).

103. The president of the Republic shall have power to declare amnesty, grant pardons or commute punishments, restore lost civil rights, in particular the right to vote for National Assembly and other elected bodies, and with the exception of criminal proceedings where an individual is complainant, suspend all criminal prosecution.

This power of the president of the Republic does not apply to members of the government, impeached or condemned in accordance with Section 79.

104. Liability of the state and judges for damages caused by illegal execution of official authority is determined by law.

105. In all cases in which an administrative organ in accordance with particular laws passes upon claims for compensation the party affected may, after exhausting his remedies with higher authorities, apply for relief to courts.

Details are regulated by law.

V. RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, AS WELL AS DUTIES OF CITIZENS.

106. Privileges due to sex, birth and calling are not recognized.

All inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic enjoy, equally with the citizens of the Republic, in its territory full and complete protection of race or religion. Exceptions to this principle are admissible only as far as is compatible with international law.

Titles may be conferred only when they refer to office or occupation; this does not apply to academic degrees.

107. Personal liberty is guaranteed. Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this constitution.

Personal liberty may be restricted or taken away only in conformity with law; likewise public authorities may compel a citizen to perform personal acts only in conformity with law.

108. Every Czechoslovak citizen may settle in any part of the Czechoslovak Republic, acquire real property there and engage in a gainful occupation, within the limits of general legal provisions.

This right may be restricted only in the public interest by law.

109. Private ownership may only be restricted by law.

Expropriation may be accomplished only in compliance with law and compensation shall be paid, except where the law specifically provides that compensation shall not be paid.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

110. The right to emigrate may only be limited by law.

111. Taxes and public burdens may be imposed only in conformity with law.

Likewise threats and imposition of punishments shall be made only in conformity with law.

112. The rights of home shall not be violated.

Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this constitution.

113. Liberty of press and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, and to form associations is guaranteed. It is therefore illegal as a matter of principle to subject the press to censoring before publication. The manner in which the right of assembly and association shall be exercised is determined by laws.

An association may be dissolved only, when its activity violates the criminal law of public peace and order.

The law may impose restrictions upon assemblies in places serving public traffic, upon the establishment of associations for profit and upon the participation of foreigners in political societies. In the same manner restrictions may be imposed upon the preceding guarantees in time of war or of domestic disorders which may menace substantially the republican form of government, the constitution or public peace and order.

114. The right to associate for the protection and improvement of conditions of employment and economic interests is guaranteed.

All acts of individuals or associations which seem to amount to intentional violation of this right are prohibited.

115. The right of petition is inherent; legal persons and associations may exercise it only within their scope of action.

116. Secrecy of mails is guaranteed.

Details are regulated by law.

117. Every person may, within the limits of law, express his opinions by word, writing, press, picture, etc.

This applies to legal persons within their scope of action.

The exercise of this right shall not prejudice anyone in his relations as employee of another.

118. Scientific investigation and publication of its results, as well as art, is untrammelled as long as it does not violate criminal law.

119. Public instruction shall be so conducted as not to be in conflict with the results of scientific investigation.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

120. Establishment of private schools is permitted only within the limits of laws.

The state administration shall have the supreme conduct and oversight of all instruction and education.

121. Liberty of conscience and profession is guaranteed.

122. No one may be compelled directly or indirectly to participate in any religious act; this does not apply to the authority of father or guardian.

All inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic have equally with citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic the right to practice in public or in private any confession, religion or faith, as long as the practice is not in conflict with public order or good morals.

123. All religious confessions are equal before the law.

124. The performance of definite religious acts may be forbidden, if they violate good order or public morality.

125. The marriage relation, family and motherhood are under the special protection of the laws.

126. Every physically fit citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic shall submit to military training and obey the call to defend the state.

Details are regulated by law.

VI. PROTECTION OF NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL MINORITIES.

127. All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic are fully equal before the law and enjoy civil and political rights, regardless of race, language or religion.

Difference of religion, faith, confession and language shall not be a handicap to any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic within the limits of general laws, in particular with reference to access to employment by the state, to offices and dignities, or the pursuit of any occupation or profession.

Citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic may, within the limits of general laws, freely employ any language in private or commercial relations, in matters relating to religion, in press or any publications, or in public assemblies of the people.

This shall not affect rights which belong to the organs of the state in accordance with any present or future laws based on considerations of public order, safety of the state and efficient control.

CONSTITUTION OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

128. The right to use a definite language in public offices is regulated by special law which forms a part of this constitution.

129. In so far as citizens may, in compliance with general laws, establish, direct and administer at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and educational institutions, all citizens, regardless of nationality, language, religion and race, shall be equal and may in such institutions freely employ their own language and practice their religion.

130. In cities and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens of other than Czechoslovak language, children of such Czechoslovak citizens shall receive in public schools, within the limits of the general law governing education, suitable opportunity to be taught in their own tongue; but instruction in the Czechoslovak language may be made obligatory.

131. Wherever in cities and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens, belonging to religious, national and language minorities, definite sums are to be expended on education, religion or charity from public funds on the basis of state, municipal or other public budgets, such minorities are hereby guaranteed, within the limits of general regulations applicable to public administration, a proportionate share in the expenditure of such funds.

132. Principles set forth in Section 130 and 131, especially the definition of the expression "considerable fraction," shall be carried out by special laws.

133. Every form of forcible denationalization is forbidden. Violation of this principle may be declared criminal by law.

HONORING THE CONSTITUTION

HONORING THE CONSTITUTION

(From The Review.)

It is no ordinary desire to celebrate, but a profound sense of public need, that has led to the organized effort to make this year's anniversary (tomorrow) of the birth of the United States Constitution a day of special observance. Eight national patriotic associations have united in this effort, and have enlisted in behalf of it the interest of a large number of eminent public men and civic organizations throughout the country. It is most earnestly to be hoped that the impulse thus given will result in a genuine revival of interest in the momentous instrument which has been the corner stone of American liberty, security, and greatness. Beyond the eloquence and the patriotic appeal of the celebration itself, there should come well-devised plans of public enlightenment on the essential elements of the Constitution. That these have long been lost sight of by the great mass of our people—not to speak of the utter ignorance of them prevailing in a large section of the population—is one of the primary reasons for the movement, the other being that undermining of respect for the Constitution which has so long been deliberately promoted by certain "advanced" thinkers, with little check from its supporters.

PARIS, March 16, 1920.—(Mail)—Count Albert Apponyi, head of the Hungarian peace delegation, in the second and concluding article on the Hungarian peace treaty which he prepared for The Associated Press, calls for a plebiscite of the inhabitants of the regions severed from Hungary by the Versailles treaty. He says:

"Comparing Hungary as she was before the war with the new states created or aggrandized through dismemberment, the situation is this:

"The Hungary of old is the finest natural geographic unity in Europe, whose limits are fixed by mountains and rivers; whose parts are economically interdependent, so as to make the whole almost self-supporting. For more than 1,000 years this part of Europe never gave trouble to the rest, rather averted from it whatever trouble threatened its tranquility and safety from the east. While historic Hungary stood, the troublesome areas of Europe was as distant from the center as the Balkan peninsula.

"To make the moral cohesion of her people perfect, one factor alone was wanting: racial unit. On this plea was her dissection planned. New constructions arise on her ruins, based on the racial

HUNGARIAN PEACE TREATY

principle, irrespective of geography, history, or political economy. We make the astonishing discovery that these new constructions are racially quite as mixed as Hungary has been."

Count Apponyi declares that 54.5 per cent of the 18,000,000 inhabitants of "Hungary proper" were Magyars, 16.1 Rumanian, 10.7 Slovak, 10.4 German and the rest Serb, Ruthenian or miscellaneous. Comparing these to the newly organized or aggrandized states he says that the population of Czecho-Slovakia has claimed parts of Hungary containing 3,570,000 persons, of which 47 per cent are Slovak and 37 per cent Magyar or German. Rumania claims territories on which live about 5,260,000 souls, of which 53 per cent are Rumanian and 43 per cent Magyar or German. The population of parts of Hungary annexed by Jugo-Slavia, says Count Apponyi, is only 22 per cent Jugo-Slav, 33 per cent Magyar and 27 per cent German. Count Apponyi continues:

"These figures show that the only principle of organic unity that has been wanting to Hungary's racial unity is likewise wanting to the states artificially built up on her ruins; the difference consists only in this, that Hungary was possessed of every other principle of unity, while the new states have none, absolutely none. What is still worse, the leadership in them will be transferred to races of inferior culture, the results of which we may already notice, after one year's occupation of the territories torn from Hungary. There is a wanton destruction of cultural values, universities, high schools and others. On the territory occupied by Rumanians, 5,000 grammar schools are deserted, the former teachers having been expelled and nobody being found to supplement them, in consequence of which more than 2,000 children are left without education of any sort.

There is a conspicuously lower level of public functionaries and the general prevalence of semi-barbarous methods of government.

"What can result from this state of things? Will those people who are violently severed from their beloved old associations only to be subjected to alien government of an inferior sort—those 4,500,000 Magyars and Germans torn from Hungary—will they ever be reconciled to denationalization, implying economic losses and cultural retrogression? Can the conscience of humanity tolerate such a downfall of millions? Anyhow, it is certain that those new constructions, with no vital principle in them, will be distracted by the permanence of a most violent, because most legitimate, irredentism and that through them eastern and central Europe will know no rest, till the equilibrium represented by old Hungary is restored.

"These facts answer the question how far the destruction of Hungary and the constructions planned on her ruins might promote

HUNGARIAN PEACE TREATY

the general welfare of mankind? It would confer on our part of Europe the following blessings:

"Racial discussions not assuaged but embittered; permanent unrest, implying danger of new wars.

"Economic difficulties enhanced; thereby social dangers aggravated.

"Cultural retrogression in government, learning, general standard of education.

"But how does liberty fare in the proposed peace treaty? In its terms millions of men will be driven from one allegiance to another, without being consulted as to their wishes. In the case of nearly half of them, of Magyars and Germans who should become Czecho-Slovak, Rumanian or Jugo-Slov subjects, you may confidently assert that it would be done against their will, that it means moral torture to them. But even the Slavs and Rumanians who would be transplanted to states racially more homogeneous, can simply be 'supposed' to long for such change and there are many symptoms indicative of the reverse, chiefly among the Slovaks, Ruthenians and the Roman Catholic Jugo-Slavs.

"There is only one way to settle that question with a result that can no more be challenged; it is the plebiscite. And the plebiscite is what Hungary asks for and insists on. In every region claimed by our neighbors, so do we say, let the people decide; we unconditionally submit to its decision; we do not want a single soul to remain with us but by an act of free will. We have been charged with oppression of the non-Magyar nationalities; well, instead of going into argument we propose to make those same people whom we are alleged to oppress, judge of our case. If we have really been oppressors, they will gladly seize upon this occasion to break away from us; but if they stick to the old country, then the charge of oppression is belied by those who know best.

"We accept this crucial test, we are anxious that it should be applied; if our opponents shrink from it judgment goes against them by default. The good faith of both parties is then put into such clear light that in fairness the discussion must be considered as ended.

"The plebiscite offers the only solution which combines justice with expediency. It would insure the tranquility of Europe, since everybody would be where he desires. On the liberty of nations on their right of self-determination rests our whole case. Our principle is in any case, fore-ordained to prevail after a passing hour of darkness and we feel proud of having thrown in our lot with whatever is most sacred to humanity."

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Washington, D. C., June 10, 1919.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich,
Press Club of Chicago,
Ashland Block,
155 North Clark Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

Sir:—In reply to your letter of June 6th, I am directed by the Secretary of State to send you herewith copies of the documents you desire relating to the prohibition amendment to the Constitution.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. A. TORRER,
Chief of Bureau.

Enclosures: Documents as above.

S. J. Res. 17.

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;
AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the third day
of December, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

JOINT RESOLUTION.

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

“Article —.

“SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

“SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

“SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

CHAMP CLARK,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THOS. R. MARSHALL,

Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

I certify that this Joint Resolution originated in the Senate.

JAMES M. BAKER,

Secretary.

FRANK L. POLK,

Acting Secretary of State of the United States of America

To all to Whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That the Congress of the United States at the second session, sixty-fifth Congress begun at Washington on the third day of December in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, passed a Resolution in the words and figures following: to wit—

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

"SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress."

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

And, further, that it appears from official documents on file in this Department that the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

And, further, that the States whose Legislatures have so ratified the said proposed Amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States.

Now therefore, be it known that I, Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of Section 205 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do hereby certify that the Amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 29th day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

PROHIBITION (Eighteenth) AMENDMENT RATIFICATIONS.

State	Date	State	Date
Virginia	January 11, 1918	Minnesota	January 17, 1919
Kentucky	January 16, 1918	Indiana1919
North Dakota	January 28, 1918	California	January 13, 1919
So. Carolina	February 12, 1918	Colorado	January 15, 1919
Maryland	March 12, 1918	Alabama	January 13, 1919
South Dakota	March 22, 1918	Oregon	January 15, 1919
Texas	March 4, 1918	Ohio	January 7, 1919
Montana	February 20, 1918	Illinois	January 14, 1919
Delaware	March 26, 1918	Wyoming	January 17, 1919
Massachusetts	March 26, 1918	Idaho	January 15, 1919
Arizona	May 25, 1918	Wisconsin1919
Georgia	July 2, 1918	North Carolina	January 16, 1919
Louisiana	August 9, 1918	Utah	January 18, 1919
Michigan	January 2, 1919	Kansas	January 20, 1919
West Virginia	January 9, 1919	New Mexico	January 20, 1919
Maine	January 8, 1919	Tennessee	January 14, 1919

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

Mississippi	January 13, 1918	Iowa	January 27, 1919
Florida	December 8, 1918	Vermont	January 31, 1919
Oklahoma	January 7, 1919	Missouri	January 17, 1919
Washington	January 13, 1919	Nevada	January 27, 1919
New H'm'shire	January 15, 1919	Pennsylvania	February 26, 1919
Nebraska	January 16, 1919		

SUPREME COURT HOLDS SUBMISSION TO VOTERS OF STATE INVALID AS IT IS CONTRARY TO PRESCRIBED PLAN.

Washington, June 1.—The Supreme Court held today that federal constitutional amendments cannot be submitted for ratification to a referendum vote in the states having referendum provisions in their constitutions. The court declared inoperative the Ohio state constitutional referendum amendment insofar as it affects ratification of federal amendments.

Ohio Supreme Court decrees dismissing injunction proceedings brought by George S. Hawk of Cincinnati to prevent submission of the prohibition amendment and women's suffrage amendment to the voters were set aside by the court.

Justice Day, in rendering the court's opinion, which was unanimous, said in part:

"The constitution of the United States was ordained by the people and when duly ratified, it became the constitution of the people of the United States. The states surrendered to the federal government the power specifically conferred upon the nation and the constitution and the laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land.

The framers of the constitution realized that it might in the progress of time and the development of the new conditions require changes and they intended to provide an orderly manner in which these could be accomplished; to that end they adopted the fifth article. This article makes provision for the proposal of amendments either by two-thirds of both houses of congress or on application of legislatures of two-thirds of the states. * * *

"The proposed change can only become effective by the ratification of the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by conventions in a like number of states. The method of ratification is left to the choice by congress. Both methods of ratification, by legislatures or conventions, call for action by deliberate assemblages,

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT

representatives of the people, which it was assumed would voice the will of the people. * * * Ratification might have been left to a vote of the people, or to some authority of government other than that selected. The language of the article is plain and admits of no doubt in its interpretation. * * *

"The only question for determination is: What did the framers of the constitution mean in requiring ratification by 'legislatures'? That was not a term of uncertain meaning when incorporated into the constitution. What is meant when adopted it still means for the purpose of interpretation. A legislature was then the representative body which made the laws for the people. The term is often used in the constitution of which this is the evident meaning.

"There can be no question that the framers of the constitution clearly understood and carefully used the terms in which that instrument referred to the action of the legislatures of the states. When they intended that direct action by the people should be had they were no less accurate in the use of apt phraseology to carry out such purpose. * * *

"It is true that the power to legislate in the enactment of the laws of a state is derived from the people of the state. But the power to ratify a proposed amendment to the federal constitution has its source in the federal constitution. The act of ratification by the state derives its authority from the federal constitution to which the states and people have alike assented."

In attacking the referendum amendment, Mr. Hawk alleged it was the intent of the framers of the federal constitution in prescribing ratification to the "legislatures" to mean the general assemblies of the states and not directly by the voters. He also contended that the power of ratification was derived from federal and not state authority.

The Ohio Supreme Court reversed the contention.

The Washington Supreme Court took virtually the same view of the question as did the Ohio court while the courts of Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Arkansas, California and Michigan held that federal constitutional amendments were not subject to referendum.

Columbus, O., June 1.—Action of the Supreme Court at Washington today is holding that federal constitutional amendments cannot be submitted for ratification to a referendum in states having referendum provisions in their constitutions, means that the vote of the Ohio legislature in ratifying federal prohibition and the federal woman suffrage amendment will stand.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION FOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The league of nations should be based upon the principles of the Constitution of the United States of America. The delegates should be elected by the actual registered voters of each nation participating in the counsel, the same as members of the Congress of the United States. No delegate should be selected by the king or autocratic assembly. The last war was to settle the supremacy of democracy over autocracy.

The Chicago Herald and Examiner of March, 1920, contains the following:

"The League of Nations gives to the British Empire six votes in the league to one vote for the United States. In proportion to its self-governing population, as compared with the self-governing population of the United States, England will have actually twelve times the influence of the United States. Medill McCormick, rising young senator from Illinois, asks, his voice trembling with rage: 'Is one Englishman twelve times as important as one American?' Answer: No, but one British diplomat is twelve times as smart as any other diplomat."

The United Kingdom, with population of 46,089,000, demands six votes, while the United States, with a population of 106,251,954, is only to be given one vote. This is not a fair democratic representation. The League of Nations prepared by Great Britain, is drawn to protect her sovereignty, and commercial interests first. It was brought to the United States by President Wilson, and submitted to the Senate, which has the power to ratify or reject it. The U. S. Senate is a representative Republic institution.

Instead of promoting democracy it strengthens the imperialism of Great Britain.

If Great Britain asks votes for the colonies, United States must demand votes for the States. The separate states of the federal government possess equal or more sovereignty than the colonies of the British Empire.

The vast population of India and other dependencies of Great Britain should not be counted and given separate votes, as they are not represented by universal suffrage in the British Parliament.

New York State, with a population of 9,113,614, is entitled to a vote, as well as Canada, with a population of 8,561,000. Pennsylvania, with a population of 7,665,111 should have a vote, as well as Australia, with a population of 4,876,000.

If delegates were appointed on the democratic system, New

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

York and Pennsylvania would be represented, as well as Canada and Australia, or nearly so. Vast tracts of territory should not be the basis of representation, but actual voters.

One vote for the United States (one of the greatest of the world's civilized nations, and a world power equalling Great Britain and containing forty-eight separate states, some as large as many of the independent sovereign states of Europe) is entirely out of all proportion when compared to Great Britain claiming six votes.

Unless the League of Nations is organized and conducted on a strictly representative basis, which is one of the basic principles of the Constitution of the United States, it will be used as an instrument of autocratic power, and may become as dangerous as Germany before her overthrow, or the old Roman empire.

There would be no real advantage to the United States in granting representation to the several Central or South American States, as they cannot be depended upon to act always in harmony with the United States.

After a long and bitter contest in the Senate, and many reservations, the League of Nations was sent to the president.

As presented, the reservation reads as follows:

"The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources or any form of economic discrimination, or to interfere in controversies between nations, whether members of the league or not under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose unless in any particular case the Congress, which under the constitution has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall in the exercise of full liberty of action, by act or joint resolution so provides."

The resolution provided:

"That the secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has refused to advise and consent to its ratification, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor."

The vote on returning the treaty to the president was 47 to 37,

THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

all of the latter being Democrats. Six Democrats, Gore, Kirby, Reed, Shields, Walsh (Massachusetts), and Williams voted with the Republicans for the Lodge resolution.

Whatever is finally decided upon as Articles of the League of Nations, the inviolability of the Monroe Doctrine and absolute sovereignty of the United States, must be recognized by all the other powers and strictly defined. A new League should be adopted by another Congress.

Rejected by the President.

Sixty-Sixth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session.

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the nineteenth day of May, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein,) That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE —.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

F. H. GILLET,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

THOS. R. MARSHALL,
Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

NASHVILLE, Aug. 18, 1920.—Ratification of the federal suffrage amendment was completed today. The vote in the House today was 49 to 47. The Senate last Friday voted 28 to 4 in favor of the amendment.—Chicago Post.

ROOT'S COURT PLAN

ADOPT ROOT'S COURT PLAN

The league council this afternoon adopted in entirety the plan of the advisory jurists committee for an international court of justice which is practically all the work of Elihu Root.

The proposals are: First—Each member of the league will nominate two candidates. Second—The court will have eleven judges and four deputy judges. Third—They will serve nine years. Fourth—In a case arising between a power having no judge and one having a judge the former will have a right of representation. In case neither has a judge on the bench they will be entitled to deputy judges. Fifth—The court is open to all states, members or not members. Sixth—The court will be competent for all cases put before it by agreement of the two parties. Seventh—The court will be competent without agreement of both parties if both are league members. Eighth—The court can give judgment by default. Ninth—Judgment is final, except in discovery of new facts by the league or a third party, on whom the judgment also is binding.

THE NEW EARTH.

"For I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered nor come into mind." Isaiah 65, 17.

"We look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." II Peter 3:13.

"I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away." Rev. 21:1.

"He said, Behold I make all things new." Rev. 21:5.

Righteousness, not militarism, must rule the world, for the latter has spent its force. It has been destroyed by its own momentum, like the volcano it has burnt itself out.

The false philosophy of Treitschke, Mitscha and Bernhardi has been tested to its utmost and found wanting. It has been universally declared a delusion and a snare. The hypothesis that force must rule the world of mankind is exploded and turned to ashes like the bombs of the great Krupp guns, after destroying everything in their path.

THE NEW EARTH

The great armies of the several contending nations have met in fierce combat and hundreds of thousands of men have been killed and many more thousand wounded. Widows and orphans have been left in sorrow and destitution. Towns and cities, and rich fields of grain have been burned and destroyed. War has raged and spent its force for a period of four years and the earth lies paralyzed beneath its withering blasts. Nature contains no such destructive elements to hurl upon mankind as modern warfare.

But Peace dawns. Another Council of Nations must assemble and proclaim peace among the wrecks of humanity which survive. The verdict has been rendered by this august and horror-stricken council, that brute force, militarism in the shape of modern warfare is a failure and that Divine Mind rules the world.

The histories of wars, one following close upon another through the centuries, are placed upon the shelves of libraries only to be referred to by coming generations, to show the unfortunate condition of the old earth.

Great professors now dominating the many new universities in China, Japan, India, Egypt, as well as Europe and the Western Hemisphere are teaching hundreds of thousands of students the eternal truth that Mind, pure and real intelligence, governs the earth and the Universe. They are instructing rising generations in agriculture, manufacturing of all kinds, scientific branches of engineering, chemistry, and metaphysics, astronomy, law, etc., instead of teaching them how to kill one another in the most expeditious manner. Each nation is eventually given a new constitution based on liberal principles whereby each individual is secured in his rights as a man and citizen. All nations are bound together by the general council in which each is equally represented. Here the great questions of international law and policy are settled.

By general international agreement, those inhabiting congested regions are given an opportunity of moving to other lands where large tracts of unoccupied territory remain undeveloped. Great estates in Africa, Asia, Australia, the two Americas, and the islands of the sea are divided into small farms, so all those desiring to cultivate lands may have a chance to own and develop them. These farms are distributed among individuals as individuals and not as nations and cannot be absorbed by the rich and powerful.

The power of those old families, heretofore assuming to possess the divine right to rule the world, has been taken from them forever and they are compelled to come down to the earth and take their allotted place on an equal footing with the other sons of men.

Universal education is now installed in all nations. New schools,

THE NEW EARTH

colleges and universities, are built and interchange and co-operate in a spirit of amity in order to spread intelligence and accumulated knowledge over all the earth. Liberty of thought is now guaranteed to every man and the aim of everyone is to bring universal happiness upon the earth so that all may live and enjoy these blessings of this bountiful and beautiful world.

Each separate race collected as one nation has its own Constitution and government suited to its requirements without interference from any other race but subject to the agreement among all nations to maintain perpetual peace.

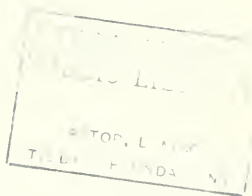
Commerce among all nations is unrestricted and no more controlled by ships of war and usurpation of power assumed by any one nation so no one nation or race is permitted to rule the world. The congress of nations has been given the power, however, to stop war and settle controversies between victors.

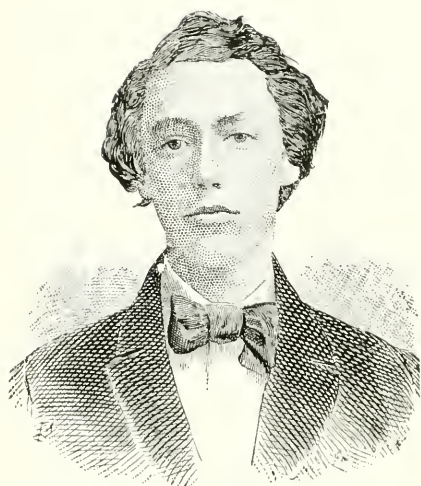
Each race or nation is guaranteed its own religion without interference from any other nation or race so that one race cannot force its belief upon another race. Different races are sometimes thrown together in one nation as in the United States as a republic, and live side by side in harmony. If desired they are given the opportunity of obtaining land to cultivate. Large tracts now unoccupied are divided up and distributed on fair and liberal terms so that different races in the same country can thus form their own communities.

Every advantage is given farmers for cultivating land over all the earth.

You ask what has been done with the great navies and armies of the different belligerent nations of the earth? These have been collected and turned over to the central congress of nations to be used if necessary to maintain obedience to its decrees. No individual nation or race is in possession of a great navy or army to overrun another race or nation and take its territory by force. The young men instead of devoting their energies to preparation for future warfare are engaged in commerce, agriculture, manufacturing, or professional pursuits. They seek recreation and physical exercise by participating in athletic sports. They gain proficiency in handling pleasure-boats and aerial craft of all kinds, instead of building for war and preparing for human slaughter. Instead of armed Zeppelins and aeroplanes bringing terror to those on earth they afford agreeable occupation and are made useful in various ways.

Mr. Bernard Shaw recently stated that: "The redistribution of





BARTOW A. ULRICH, 1859

AFTER SIXTY YEARS

income really lies at the bottom of the balance of power. If incomes had been better distributed than it has, if it had been, say, for the last twenty years better distributed in Germany, in France, in Russia, in Servia, there would not be this bankruptcy of civilization going on at the present time."

This applies also to the United States as well as to the European states. The Government should aid in the distribution instead in the concentration of wealth, as it has been doing. Instead of giving as in the past, vast tracts of land to corporations, or permitting them to be bought and kept perpetually unoccupied by non-residents or uncultivated, it should have divided and distributed these lands among actual settlers and even loaned them money to assist in cultivating land and this should apply to soldiers with additional help.

AFTER SIXTY YEARS.

"Vive la Republique des Etats Unis de l'Amerique.

1859

We ascended the battlements of Stolzenfels, on the eve of a cloudless day, and cast our eyes upon the glorious scene that lay spread out before us. The Rhine flowed smoothly beneath, washing the feet of green-topped mountains, verdant with the ripening grape, and ever and anon separated by low, blooming islands, clothed with the aged trees, and low bending bush, amid which, as if in sleep profound, would stand, nearly buried in the rich verdure, some ancient monastery. On one of these little solitudes, a nun was visible, viewing, with downcast eyes, the crystal waters of the Rhine. I could tell of legends long, wild and full of romance, that her bowed and meditative figure brought to mind.

As we had viewed, for one-half hour, the varied landscape, there arose, in the evening air, the pealing of a bell, that came from out some humble "Dorf" couched at the foot of some tall mountain, or lying snugly imbedded in a green and charming valley—the sound recalling to the reflective mind a host of thoughts long buried in oblivion, as the echo, reverberating through the mountains, died gradually away.

Slowly, and in all his majesty, sank the day-worn sun. Lowering towards the western hills, he left behind a glow of deepened red, that clothed the mountains in a mantle of hallowed hue. A moment here he lingered, in all his splendor; like some vast fireball hovering o'er the mountain top. A moment past, and he descended—though shining still above thy smiling face, sweet, joyous land of my nativity—

AFTER SIXTY YEARS

America! The hills, the trees, the placid, glassy Rhine, and the many little villages scattered along its banks, all seemed to sink, with the setting sun, into a calm and undisturbed repose.

Retracing our way beneath the heavy portals, we reached a spot commanding a fine and extensive view, where we rested, and called for some refreshments. Two of our party were majors in the Prussian army. They had run down our form of government generally, and had gone so far as to say that in fifty years (God ward it off forever! is my prayer) a king would rule over our proud land of freedom.

In the fond remembrance of home, I poured out several glasses of wine, pressed from the grapes grown on the hills I had just trodden, and proposed a toast to our President. This I recalled, however, giving in its stead: "Vive la Republique des Etats Unis de l'Amerique!" One of the party, in derision, raised a glass of sugar and water (mineral), saying: "This represents your republican government, and this is all I will drink to it." But dashing it to the ground, I filled a glass with the purest wine. "There is a fit symbol of our Republic," said I, "drink to it thus, or not at all." We all drank, and I cried aloud: "Vive la Republique des Etats de l'Amerique!" when the dusky mountains beyond the rippling Rhine, echoed: "Vive la Republique des Etats Unis de l'Amerique," for nature, hearing, understood, and showed fond sympathy for her inborn laws of liberty.

During our ride in a skiff down the Rhine, we were met by a little steamer of the regular line, and the waves it occasioned tossed our boat right merrily. A boating party down the Rhine, when the sun has gone down, and left his gentler sister moon to fill his place, overshadowing beauteous hill and vale in shades of magic softness, with the gentle waves silvered over, dancing about us, with the blue heavens high above, studded with myriads of stars, and the dark mountains, throwing their long, gloomy-looking shadows over the murmuring waters beneath, formed a delight, and a scene of enchantment, not to be confined within the narrow compass of words and sentences.

We reached Coblenz, from which city we had started in the morning, at about 9 o'clock in the evening, and giving our boat over to the boatmen, picked our way, over the roughly paved streets, to our respective homes.

Sixty years later the United States has contributed to the overthrow of the German Empire and the establishment of a democracy in its stead.

The German Empire is now overthrown, and the victorious soldiers of the United States of America guard the Rhine, and the Star



CASTLE OF STOLZENFELS
1859

WILLIAM II.

Spangled Banner, emblem of liberty, floats over the castle of Stolzenfels, Coblenz, the fortifications of Ehrenbreitstein and other forts on the Rhine. A republic is now formed in Germany and in other states of old Europe.

AUTOCRATIC RULERS OF GERMANY PROVEN MOST INHUMAN AND TYRANNICAL ENEMIES.

(Published in Chicago Post, 1917)

William II, king of Prussia, and the constitutional president of the German Empire, with the nominal title of "emperor," proved at first to be an advocate of peace, and was a popular ruler up to the commencement of the war precipitated with savage haste, after long premeditation and preparation. His entire peace pretensions were deceptive and hypocritical. He and the autocratic rulers of the twenty-five states of Germany, meeting secretly in the bundesrath, behind locked doors, deliberately planned the hellish scheme of deluging Europe in blood, fire and desolation. They have surpassed the most treacherous devices of Macchiavelli, as depicted in his celebrated, brutal book, "The Prince."

So far the German states, headed by the emperor-king, William II, have been the most destructive, inhuman, tyrannical and treacherous enemies of the human race which the world has ever known.

Emperor William II, under the German constitution, possesses the power to control these forces, to stop or continue the carnage, and to enforce civilized methods of warfare. He has misused and still is misusing the powers given into his hands, without any effort on his part, through the previous labors and devices of Bismarck and the former kings of Prussia. He has trod the continent of Europe like an impersonation of Satan, the arch-demon of destruction, trampling men, women and children in the blood-soaked mire, beneath his cloven hoof.

The great conflict now raging in Europe between the central powers and the United States and its allies is a war of democracy against despotic military autocracy, which fights to rule the world.

This new entente, including the United States, is not only fighting its own battles, but it is also indirectly fighting the cause of democracy, including Germany, heretofore dominated by the Hohenzollern dynasty, which has gradually absorbed the greater part of the German Empire.

In a book entitled "The Psychology of the Kaiser," by Morton

THE TRUE LIGHT

Prince, it is stated that in the consciousness of the kaiser there is nothing that is more dominant than his increasing and violent antipathy to the great body of citizens constituting no less than one-third of the empire, namely, the social democrats.

The empire of Germany is ruled by the representatives of the old Hohenzollern family, with centuries of aggressive wars to its credit, or discredit, through Prussia, which they control and which comprises two-thirds of Germany. The question now arises, can Prussia and the other German states stem the rising tide of democracy which is sweeping all before it? Are not the people of the central powers weary of the rule and oppression of kings, emperors and czars?

For events relating to the late war, see the following new books:
"A Complete History of the Late War." Five volumes. By W. D. Eaton. (Thomas Publishing Co.)

"The Current History," by The New York Times.

"How It Can Be Told," by Philip Gibbs. Published by Harper Bros.

THE TRUE LIGHT

"In the beginning was the WORD and the WORD was with GOD, and the WORD was GOD. The same was in the beginning with GOD."—St. John 1:1.

Throughout eternity existed the WORD, the eternal, omnipresent, omnipotent, and omniscient, all-creative MIND—GOD—reflecting love to all, resplendent in everlasting glory WHO was, is, and ever shall be possessed of eternal life; and this life is the spiritual LIGHT which giveth light to man's intellect; it is eternal, transcendent, never dimmed, never-ending LIGHT, which shineth into and dispells the darkness, which often obscures the mentality of man, so that he may comprehend this LIGHT.

"For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye LIGHT in The Lord; walk as children of LIGHT."—Eph. 8:2.

"In Him was LIFE; and the LIFE was the LIGHT of men, and the LIGHT shineth in the darkness; and the darkness apprehended it not."—John 1:4.

LIGHT is twofold—the spiritual and invisible, and the visible or material. The former shineth into the intellect of man, and when he is awakened spiritually, it illuminates his understanding and reveals to

THE TRUE LIGHT

him the power and glory of GOD, the eternal MIND. The latter is the physical or visible light, that sheddeth light upon the material creation, and penetrates the universe by means of innumerable rays or waves of varied colors, transmitted through ether, which light travels at the rate of 180,000 miles a second.

"All things are made by HIM (GOD): And without HIM was not anything made that hath been made."

The earth did not exist forever, but, in the beginning of its existence, was formed by the Eternal WORD or MIND (GOD), through countless ages of evolutionary processes, which fitted it for the abode of man, whom GOD created in HIS infinite wisdom after His own image spiritually.

This process of evolution still continues, and is not yet completed, but will eventually evolve a peace loving, magnificent, glorious and perfect world. For centuries, however, man did not and does not now fully comprehend the Divine LIGHT which existed and now exists all around him, and which should enlighten every man born into the world, so GOD, in His love for man sent the WORD direct to him through the medium of the perfect man, Christ Jesus. He came to hasten this regeneration, and to enlighten the spiritual vision of man. "Christ Jesus, who being the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the WORD of His power, when he had by Himself purified our sins, set down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."—Heb. 1:3.

"Christ Jesus was the true LIGHT, even the light which lighteneth every man coming into the world. He was in the world and the world was made by Him (or the WORD, GOD, expressed by Him), and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own and they that were His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, to them gave He the right to become CHILDREN OF GOD, even to them who believed in His name, who were born not of blood nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of GOD." "And the WORD became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld HIS glory, glory as of the only begotten from the FATHER, full of Grace and Truth."—John 1:9-14.

Jesus the Christ was the visible resemblance of the eternal MIND manifested in the flesh. He was in the world temporarily in the body; but the world of mankind did not comprehend the eternal MIND thus manifested. A few followers, however, were awakened and did comprehend His divine power, and accepted the true LIGHT derived by Him from the eternal MIND, GOD. Those first believers, and those who afterwards are re-born of the spirit, will be sons of GOD, born not of blood, nor the will of the flesh, nor the will of

THE TRUE LIGHT

man, but of God the eternal, all-creative MIND. Those who were re-born or who become re-born through the power of the divine, all-creative God, do and can affirm that they are the children of GOD in fact; and it is not yet manifested what they shall be, but they know that if HE shall be made manifest, they shall be like HIM, for they shall see HIM as HE is. Everyone who hath this hope in Him purifieth himself, even as HE (Christ Jesus) is pure.—1st John 3:2.

Christ Jesus recognizes, in all His utterances, the omnipotent will of GOD, an originating and omnipotent power in the realm of Mind; also man's spiritual relationship to God, not only temporarily in the economy of this world, but throughout eternity.

All nations are subject to the Divine law in its entirety, the same as they are subject to day and night, through the rotation of the earth on its axis every 24 hours, of which in early times they did not know.

The following quotations are given in regard to spiritual light:

Matthew 5, 13, 14, 15, 16: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

John 1, 1, 7: "But if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus cleanses us of all sin."

The following references are given which can be referred to: Cor. 4:6. First John 2:10. John 8:12. John 12:36. First John 1:7. Isaiah 58:8. Isaiah 60:19-20. Isaiah 2:5. Psalms 56:13. Rev. 18:1. Rev. 21-23-24. Eph. 5:14. Luke 2:32. Samuel 22:29.

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC

CHAPTER II

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC.

It should not be attempted, in this twentieth century, to convert a monarchy of long standing, instantly into a republic, through assassination, like that of the Austrian grand duke, Ferdinand, of Sarajevo, or by a bloody revolution, like that which was precipitated in France, during the reign of Louis XVI, or like that in Russia after the abdication of the Czar Nicholas II.

This change should be accomplished, if possible, through gradual evolution, and general education of the entire population, composing a nation. As the modern world becomes more progressive and liberal, the rulers of old empires, should keep up with the times, and permit their people to have more freedom, and they should be allowed to participate in the management of the government. The monarch, who stubbornly opposes this natural impulse, caused by the advance in liberty of surrounding nations, leaves himself liable to defeat and overthrow, by not conforming to popular demand for more freedom. But when he voluntarily relinquishes a portion of his authority, and permits the people, through their direct representatives, to participate in the various functions of a parliamentary or representative government, he can quietly retain his position as king, safely, with a limitation of former prerogatives, dividing his responsibility with competent chosen representatives of the people.

The colonies, which formed the original United States of America, cannot be taken as a fair criterion of the practicability of the rapid change of government from a monarchial to a democratic representative form of government. This was accomplished not by an inexperienced combination of men, but by a class of enlightened citizens, well qualified by education and former experience to construct a constitution and administer the affairs of a free nation. Such men as Hamilton, Monroe, Madison, Washington and Franklin had participated in the local governments of the colonies previous to the "Declaration of Independence" and the revolution.

The colonies were new and far distant from England, the mother country, which had previously given them considerable independence. The attempt to rule them arbitrarily, without giving them due representation in Parliament, was naturally resented. The Republican constitution of 1787 could not have been successfully administered

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC

in France, England, or Germany, at the time of its formation. This was proven, at least in France, by the fate of the constitution in 1793, much of which was copied from the English charter.

The progress and evolution of the British government has been achieved without assassination or bomb throwing, and the people have procured in many cases what they have demanded, by rational and constitutional means. (See Stubb's Constitutional History, Vol. 1, Page 522; English Constitutional History—Thomas Pitt, Taswale, Langmead, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol 12, Page 317. Stubb's Select Charters. Illustration of English Constitutional History.)

Starting with the Magna Charta, granted by King John, 1215, the English government has reached, through a process of evolution, a state of stability and freedom, which cannot easily be surpassed at this age. Lord Chatham said that, "the Magna Charta granted by King John at Runnymede, June, 1215, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights (the latter granted 1698 to the English people), embodies the ideal of English liberties and constitute the Bible of English constitution."

Wellington said that "it is not kings who make constitutions, but constitutions that make kings." (See West's Modern History, Page 405.)

King John undertook to over-ride the old constitutional privileges of the people and taxed them without the consent of the council, so they resisted him, the same as the colonies resisted George III, and eventually procured the Magna Charta, June 15, 1215. Petitions were made to different rulers, and at different times, and without bloodshed they were often granted, in part, or entire; thus little by little, the people became accustomed to manage national and local affairs. It is true that Charles the First lost his head, but he was previously duly tried and condemned for usurpation, treason, tyranny, and for violating the English constitution, but he was not violently assassinated.

As a proof of my contention in this respect, I call attention to Great Britain. It took a long time for that nation to reach its present efficient mixed form of government, with its democratic branch, acting through the House of Commons, the aristocracy in the House of Lords and the King representing Royalty. Through a process of evolution, the authority originally vested in the king, has gradually been transferred to able and well trained representatives of the people, who have shown themselves qualified to manage the complicated machinery of government without the continual dictation of a sovereign ruling over them. England's imperial policy for her possessions in South Africa, Egypt, Ireland and India are still autocratic.

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC

Subject provinces and races should have the right of self-determination as to what their status shall be in the future and if not satisfied should be given the right to form their own system of government and be granted full freedom of action. This should apply to Ireland and other subject nations now under control of monarchical governments.

The British Empire should abolish its system of imperialism which is inconsistent with republican government and should give its different present dependencies a constitutional form of government.

"It was my dirty duty."

Thus Brigadier General R. E. H. Dyer, ex-commander of the British troops in India, has explained his order to a small squad of troops in April, 1919, to fire into a crowd of 5,000 unarmed Indian civilians at Amritsar until their ammunition was exhausted—the bloodiest order since the Indian mutiny. Dyer's men killed 500 and wounded 1,500 in less than a quarter of an hour.

First praised for his action by his chief, then when after nearly a year's complete suppression of the affair, the world learned of it and shuddered with horror—reprimanded, investigated and ordered to resign, General Dyer arrived in London today to protest against being made the scapegoat.

He said: "I am a soldier. It took me thirty seconds to decide that the shooting was necessary to save British rule in the Punjab, the province in which Amritsar lies. It has taken the government a year to decide that I did wrong.

"I shot to save British rule, to preserve India for the British Empire and to protect English men and English women who lived under my protection. Now I am told to go. Every Englishman I have met in India approved of my act, horrible as it was.

"What would have happened if I had not ordered my men to shoot? My force would have been swept away like chaff before the wind. Thousands of natives were marching on the city.

"At the time, no one in authority condemned me. On the contrary, I was given command of another operation afterward, as a result of which I was complimented by the general officer commanding the troops in India. Lord Hunter's commission afterward condemned me."

It was the report of this British investigating commission that led to the revelation of the Amritsar massacre.

"I should have been court-martialed, but there never was any suggestion of that," General Dyer concluded.

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC

ARMY OF PERSIA NOW IN CONTROL OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By reason of a series of accords growing out of the Anglo-Persian treaty, Great Britain has established complete control over the Persian army, according to information just received here.

When the question of approval of the army scheme was brought before the Persian cabinet, four ministers, including the minister of war, resigned and one Persian officer on the Anglo-Persian commission killed himself, his act causing a great sensation throughout Persia.

The Persian army will consist of 70,000 officers and men. The generalissimo will be a high British officer, while a British officer will head each divisional staff. In each regiment the colonel and four other officers will be British.

French newspapers containing this report comment on it, and say that the purpose of England seems to be the creation of a new Persian army completely controlled by the British and which will serve to protect India from any attack from Central Asia.

The report says the Persian cabinet ministers who have resigned are protesting against the British scheme on the ground that the Anglo-Persian treaty has not been submitted to the League of Nations or to the Persian Parliament for approval, as one of the treaty clauses expressly requires.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

There may be conditions, like those in France at the time of Louis XVI, when it requires forcible and even tragical methods, to bring about a necessary radical change in the structure of the government, in order to save the nation, when all peaceful and ordinary efforts fail; but radical and anarchistic revolutions are not to be depended upon to correct the evils of an unsatisfactory governmental administration.

A long period of misrule and oppression under previous kings, together with the domineering and selfish rule of the nobility, which is always favored and supported by the king had brought the French people through abject want and desperation, to the extreme limit of endurance. The masses had been neglected and forgotten by the rulers, who should have considered their interests and happiness, but who, instead, were blinded by their own personal greed and ambition, to every principle of justice and humanity. But even France, at this critical period of her history, could have been saved from a reign of terror, it is possible, if cool heads and wise statesmanship could have co-operated with a practical and common-sense king, if

CHANGING A MONARCHY INTO A REPUBLIC

such a king had been on the throne. Louis XVI should have possessed sufficient intelligence to use his power to protect, in advance, the general prosperity and security of his people, depending upon him as a ruler, for their welfare, without being forced to do so by a starving mob clamoring at the door of his palace.

As a rule, an irresponsible mob, incapable of reason, and usually led by wild fanatics, should never be permitted to influence the policy to be followed by the supreme power exercising the government of the state. Precautions should be taken in time, to prevent the assembling of a mob, by supplying them with food and observing the rights justly belonging to the people. It should never be permitted, to allow a wild clamorous mob to dictate the policy of the nation.

If Louis XVI had been a wise and practical ruler, he would, under the existing conditions, have abdicated, or himself provided a liberal constitution, demanded by the people, thus relinquishing some of the old prerogatives of a one-man government, and entrusted them to the chosen representatives of the people.

It is the lack of proper statesmanship and practical common sense management, that brings out irresponsible mobs.

The crisis in the case of Louis XVI was reached on the 6th of October, 1789. This was soon after a revised constitution had been promulgated and adopted by the new republic of the United States of America. LaFayette, now in France, had been, for some time, very active in the United States, as a friend of Washington, laboring with him and others to free the colonies from the imperialistic rule of Great Britain.

It is, unquestionably certain that the king would have retained his influence and saved his life, if he could have forgotten, for a while, his royal dignity, and personally taken part, together with Danton, and other liberal and sane leaders, in the councils of the national assembly, called together under the emergency, aiding them in drawing up a straightforward, democratic and honest constitution, making the ministry accountable to the lower house as in England elected by universal suffrage, and representing the will of the people. In this way he could have continued to hold his position as king, while the most suitable men in the nation could have been selected as ministers, to administer the affairs of the nation, the same as the House of Commons now acts in Great Britain. This would have prevented the reign of terror and saved his life.

Instead of this, he, like most kings and emperors under similar circumstances, stubbornly resisted every proposal which encroached upon his assumed inherited prerogatives. He ignored the fact that

RUSSIA

the world was progressing in civilization, and that royal powers were originally forced upon the people by his ancestors, regardless of their will. The people were, and had been for years, neglected and impoverished, in order to support the luxuries of an extravagant and corrupt court, and the nobility were favored and escaped the burden of taxation, which was imposed upon the people.

RUSSIA.

Russia, after a period of a hundred and thirty years from the fall of Louis XVI, has been torn and devastated by civil war and revolution, very much after the manner of France. During this period, however, the civilized world has advanced in education and experience, and limited monarchies with written constitutions have become generally in vogue, in Europe. Besides the Republic of Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark have become liberal constitutional governments, as well as England, with the ministry more or less accountable to the representatives of the people in parliament. Portugal, China and Switzerland, in Europe; Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and all the South American states have democratic representative forms of government with written constitutions. And now Germany takes its place among modern republics and has a new constitution.

The Czar, like Louis XVI, instead of keeping up with the democratic progress of the world, held stubbornly to his so-called inherited divine rights, and attempted to dissolve the Duma, which, at the best, had been given reluctantly, a very small degree of power by the Czar. He, like some of the previous Russian rulers and many of the French rulers, had shown his incapacity to govern a modern civilized state.

He had ruled the people in a despotic and archaic method, and built up an autocratic and tyrannical bureaucracy.

The people of every nation should understand by this time, especially since Germany has been led by the emperor-king into the grossest onslaught on civilization and human rights which the world has ever known, that it is dangerous to give unrestricted power into the hands of any one man, who can pass it on to his sons and unborn grandsons of whose ability and sanity nothing can be known. Those who inherit these powers may be, and experience has shown, are, nearly always entirely unfitted to govern any nation.

By the sudden overthrow of the old absolute archaic monarchy of Russia, and its change to a republic as the leaders of the revolution expected to found, the people were naturally dazzled in all branches

RUSSIA

and conditions of society, both civil and military, and were thrown into a chaotic condition from which they have not yet entirely recovered under the present unacknowledged government of Russia which was established Nov. 7, 1917, with a capital in Moscow, in the Kremlin. This government is called a government of Soviets. Instead of electing men at the polls they are elected in shops and unions. There are soviets in every village, district and county in Russia. This government is under the control of Trotzky and Lenine. The former leaders failed to establish a real, common sense republic like that of the United States, and Trotzky and Lenine have resorted to force and unprecedented methods for governing the different races and classes in Russia.

"The Czar's Manifesto of October, 1902, promised complete liberty; liberty of the person, of speech, of religion, of the press, and reform of the judicial system which are all within the Duma's competence," says Tolstoy, "and the Duma should embody these principles in legislation, in the shortest possible time. With the power still remaining in the hands of the Czar's government, so long exercising autocratic control, it is doubtful if this liberty will be obtained under the present constitution."

If the Czar had been wise he would have exercised the great power he possessed in establishing free schools throughout Russia and voluntarily granting universal suffrage, and the freedom of the press.

The monarchists in Russia, as well as those in Germany, will continually plot to overthrow every other government except that of monarchy. When the more conservative and right minded statesmen in Russia attempted to bring order out of chaos and called a constitutional convention to form a new republican constitution, under well tried methods, Trotzky and Lenine, with their promises of land taken from the great landed proprietors and given to the people, were enabled, with the backing of the soldiers, the peasants and the working classes, to prevent this new constitution being made, and forced the Soviet government in its place. This radical excess of so-called "liberty" without law, is the effect of long autocratic and despotic rule of the czars, against which the people are now taking revenge.

We are being taught startling lessons from what is going on in Russia, under the direction of Trotzky and Lenine. The conditions in Russia have been entirely different from those which obtain in the United States. The spirit of bolshevism has been brought about in Russia by a long period of despotic rule by a privileged autocratic class, who have oppressed and kept a great majority of the people in practical slavery, and in ignorance and deprived unjustly of their natural rights. The lands in Russia, in the earlier period of its history,

CAUSE OF BOLSHEVISM

were originally held in many cases and used in common by what they call Communes. These Communes used the land in common and had a modified form of local democratic government and were not serfs. Later these lands were taken away from the people by force and by those who were elevated to the nobility, together with the former Czar and his family. Those who occupied the lands originally were made serfs and were bought and sold with the land until they were liberated in 1861.

The liberation of the serfs and the rights given to establish a Duma did not meet the necessary demands of the people, so they were ripe for the revolution, which brought about the abdication of the Czar and the overthrow of the Russian monarchy. This was precipitated by the defeat of the Russian army in the World War.

THE CAUSE OF BOLSHEVISM.

The great corporations and millionaires of the United States acquiring vast financial power have, in various ways, brought discredit upon our liberal and equitable form of government which, when properly administered, deals out justice to all classes. The autocratic and oppressive government of Russia was the cause of bringing dissatisfaction among the people of Russia and instigated them to not only throw off the old monarchical system, but to adopt a plan of government which is carrying liberty to an excess, which is unjustified and unprecedented in any rational government.

Great corporations in the United States have used their power in some cases to dominate Congress, and legislation for their special benefit has been obtained often to the detriment of the great majority of the people, and this has raised a cry against our really good government. Thus our representative republic is wrongly blamed for existing inequalities which have thus been brought about by kings of commerce to accomplish their financial ends. The way to correct this is to change the legislative branch of the government periodically by the people who have a voice in elections, thus purging it and turning out those who have shown favoritism to the capitalistic class, and electing men who are honest and who will legislate for the good of the people equitably, independent of class or condition. Stringent laws should be enacted to restrain the power of great corporations now dominating all lines of commerce.

These conditions have furnished plausible arguments for those conspiring against our republican form of government which they claim permits such things. This also has influenced those who are

THE REMEDY

seeking to create new systems of government in Europe. Those who thus find fault with our constitution and system of government are really misinformed and unacquainted with the great fundamental principles it contains, and judge not from its text but from the method used by an invisible government under the control of great corporations and multi-millionaires who care nothing about our principles of government but are looking out only for their own individual interests.

Trotsky and Lenine point to our multi-millionaires and the great packing trust and corporations as products of our lauded democratic institutions. They say there is no more equality and equal privileges contained in our constitution than under the old autocratic governments of Russia and Germany. The people they claim are overreached and deprived of the benefits which should accrue to those under an honestly administered representative government.

THE REMEDY.

The mass of the people, including the laboring classes, should not be influenced, or prejudiced against our government by the arguments of the Bolsheviki; or other foreign enemies of our government, who are seeking to undermine one of the most practical and liberal governments the world has ever known. They should, at all times, be loyal and defend the Constitution which is the guarantee of their liberties and contains a bill of rights favorable to them. They should be devoted to the stars and stripes, which is the emblem of this free government. They should be ready at all times to defend this flag against the assault of enemies at home or abroad, who are seeking to establish anarchy and a form of government which is impractical and overthrows the rights of individual liberty and the ownership of property. The United States should not become the home of anarchists or Bolsheviki, followers of Trotsky and Lenine, nor their like.

STATE'S ATTORNEY HOYNE CALLS IT VICTORY FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE

"The verdict returned in the Red case against William Bross Lloyd and the other defendants is a signal victory not only for the people of Chicago and Illinois, but for the entire United States. The community is to be congratulated that Americans still sit on our juries, and the jury is to be commended for its fearlessness in accepting the issue and meeting it with a positive verdict. This leaves no room for doubt that Chicago is and Chicago always has been an American city.

THE REMEDY

In this trial "Red" radicalism was driven into the open, and it then tried to hide its cowardly head behind the clean purposes of honest organized toil.

One important issue decided by this jury is that the red card of the I. W. W. is international and is not American, and that the only union card recognized as American is the card of the American working man in the American Federation of Labor.

These defendants and those associated with them had two sinful objects: One, the seizure of private property without due process of law or compensation; the other, the overthrow of the constitution of the United States and the establishment in this country of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

When I saw the danger in this country, that some of the sparks that threatened Europe were crossing the Atlantic, I began investigation.

This investigation disclosed an incipient plot the purpose and object of which has been proven before twelve men; that plot was the formation of a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States of America. It was born in Russia and brought here to disturb the integrity of our institutions and baffle America in her post-war problems. The raids last January were purposed to check this unlawful conspiracy. This verdict of the jury has justified the raids and called a halt, that will ring throughout Chicago and the country, upon those whose only activity seems to be to disturb peace and order, foment unrest, and bring upon us anarchy and rebellion.

Credit is due Assistant State's Attorney Marvin Barnhart and Lloyd Heth and Attorney Frank Comerford, who ably prosecuted these defendants. Attorney Henry A. Berger and my secretary, George T. Kenney, who handled the investigation from the start and who executed the New Year's day raids and assisted in the preparation of evidence for the trial of the men convicted, are also entitled to much credit."

The laboring classes in the Republic of the United States of America are differently situated than the same classes are in monarchical countries, for the reason that they are or can be represented in Congress and the different legislatures of the states. Therefore, instead of forming associations to bring about strikes and antagonize the general public, they should use their time and influence and money in forming a laboring man's party throughout the United States and elect men of their own party to represent them in Congress and the different legislatures. I have noticed that in the British Parliament the working men are represented by leaders of their own selection, as John Burns. In this way they could obtain what they want through legislation.

THE REMEDY

It is gratifying to see that some of our captains of industry who control large corporations and who are really men of wide vision and naturally of generous disposition, are realizing the situation that has arisen in the conflict of labor and capital, and are now trying to do all in their power to give those who are under their employment the square deal. They are trying to meet the problem of dissatisfaction and unrest which prevails. The Chicago packers, after the close of the war, declared their intention to continue the wage scale adopted during the war. A voluntary proposition of this nature was far better than to grant a fair wage by their demand. The standard of living which the laboring man has become accustomed to by more prosperous surroundings, should be maintained. I understand five of the Chicago packers have inaugurated the pension system.

This step in the right direction by such large operators may lead to further mutual understanding, which would place employes of the packers on a sure financial basis. The business is so extensive, the profits so large in the aggregate, and the number of those engaged in it so great, that a vast amount of good could be accomplished by a general plan by which those giving the best of their lives to the carrying on of this great and necessary industry, would receive finally a percentage of the business annually, in addition to their living wage.

The stability and profitable efficiency of the great business interests would be promoted by a regular system of supervision by the corporations over the housing of the employes, the sanitation of their surroundings, and educational facilities provided for their families. In this way the public would receive back some benefits from the millions of dollars which the people pay annually into the coffers of these highly favored and prosperous business men. The packers could easily afford to appropriate a million dollars annually for housing their employes in a respectable manner, and supplying scientific sanitation, reading rooms, co-operative stores, and even arranging for old age pensions.

Men well fed and well housed will do the best work.

Exercising such noble qualities as these, and attempting to uplift men who are devoting the best of their lives building up the fortunes of their employers, would be a just return for their labor and bring good results.

Another effect to meet the conditions now existing has been made public by the announcement recently of a gift by George Eastman, president of the Eastman Kodak Co., to older employes of the company of 10,000 of the common shares of the company, having a present market value of nearly \$6,000,000. This stock is to be sold to employes at the par value of \$1 per share, on easy payment plans, the proceeds amounting to \$1,000,000 to go into an employes' welfare fund.

THE REMEDY

The company itself agrees to set aside a like amount of its unissued common stock to be sold at par to the newer employes as they become eligible through length of service. The kodak company has for several years paid its employes an annual wage dividend, amounting to nearly one million, which is to be continued.

It is also announced that profit-sharing will be adopted in the factories of the Endicott Johnson corporation. They announce to their workmen:

"Due to our mutual efforts, our leather and shoe business has grown from \$600,000 to \$75,000,000. We feel that the business will be strengthened and the interests of all better guaranteed under the form of a corporation than a private ownership. Invested capital and management of this business is entitled to a fair return for its risk and efforts. Labor is entitled to fair wages, good working conditions, reasonable hours and fair treatment. Accordingly, we announce the following plan:

"Each year after a 7 per cent dividend has been paid on preferred stock and 10 per cent set aside on the common stock, the balance of the profits, if any, shall be split fifty-fifty between the workers and the owners of the common stock."

A recent article in the Chicago Daily News states that:

"The idea the worker should get a share in the profits has marked quite a few furlongs in Chicago during the last three years. On New Year's Day, 1916, there was much in the public prints about an announcement of the Harris Trust & Savings Bank. It was just inaugurating a profit-sharing and pension plan. The bank was going to give the employes a set percentage of its earnings before paying dividends to the shareholders. It says the Harris plan has developed into quite a parent. It was the inspiration of a profit-sharing system which Julius Rosenwald established for Sears, Roebuck & Co. Other establishments adopted it with modifications, and at present it is the father of quite a growing family."

It is also publicly announced that the Kuppenheimers are to share profits with their employes. Every employe—3,500 in Chicago, exclusive of salesmen—are to participate in the firm's profits.

The pioneer in the profit-sharing system, it is stated, has been the Walden W. Shaw Livery Co., which divides 40 per cent of its profits among employes.

Such action on the part of employers will accomplish much to counteract bolshevism.

It is publicly announced that the Deering Harvester Co. are inaugurating a plan by which their 30,000 employes will be more generously provided for than they previously have been.

THE REMEDY

Proctor & Gamble was one of the first establishments to install a profit-sharing system. For thirty-two years it has operated plans whereby workers have been given a share in the returns.

This is somewhat similar to the industrial council adopted by the International Harvester Co.

The conference committee of workers and management of Ivory-dale plant worked out a scheme whereby all the company's factories went last year to an eight-hour day, with ten-hours' pay, and a minimum wage of 50 cents an hour. The conference plan has for a background profit-sharing, stock purchase and general welfare work.

It is claimed by some that the great capitalists of the United States do not believe in a representative government giving equal rights any more than the nobility of Russia and Germany did under autocratic government. The capitalists and great monopolists have obtained privileges which are not shared equally with a great majority of the people. This inequality is not entirely the fault of the government and the Constitution, but is brought about by the complicated financial methods of commercial transactions and the various corporations which have grown to an enormous proportion.

The company's employes are now permitted to buy profit-sharing certificates which may be converted into stock at \$3 a share below market price. These buying certificates are given as a bonus of 3 per cent of the salaries.

The Crane Company's system allows employes an average of 10 per cent of their annual salaries.

The Pullman Company's employes who have been serving for fifteen years receive 5 per cent of their yearly salaries. It is stated that millions of dollars are paid annually to 400,000 workers, through different profit-sharing methods by 300 big and small Chicago business concerns. Men who are well housed and well fed will do most efficient work.

U. S. DEBT SHOULD NOT BE REFUNDED

Mr. John J. Mitchell, Chicago financier and chairman of the Board of the Illinois Merchants' Trust banking group, advocates the refunding of the entire national debt of the United States, and by this method to reduce taxation. He calls the attention of the new administration coming into power after the Wilson term expires to the feasibility for such a movement.

According to the treasury statement, the national banks on May 4, held \$2,375,801,000 of government securities, a reduction of \$1,656,-952,000 compared with May 12, 1919.

The new administration, whether Democratic or Republican,

THE REMEDY

should by no means refund the U. S. debt, as suggested by Mr. Mitchell, and thereby put it over on the shoulders of the yet unborn citizens of the nation, who will probably have their own debts to meet. The government bonds were sold to patriotic Americans to help the cause of world democracy. This money was nearly all paid out for war supplies, the cash going into the pockets of the manufacturers, packers, speculators, grafters, and much of it stolen. Prices were advanced without any regard to former rules regulating their value. Even the bonds loaned to other nations were exchanged for credit, and the money went into the hands of American manufacturers and those who handled produce and amunition. Some of the packers realized over \$25,000,000 annually, and the steel trust have published the fact that their profits amounted to \$750,000,000.

Now, when it comes to paying these bonds, and liquidate this indebtedness including these immense profits, these profiteers and their banks who have accumulated millions, propose that the coming national administration, whether Democratic or Republican, should pass legislation to refund these bonds maturing periodically by a new issue of bonds payable in fifty years at a higher rate of interest. The result of this movement will be to let those who have accumulated, honestly or dishonestly, these billions taken from the pockets of the trusting citizenship, go free from any taxation levied upon them for these excessive profits and put it over on unborn generations who have no voice in the matter and are unable to defend themselves against the greedy sharks of this money-mad age.

The people, who have a voice in electing their next president and congressmen, should defeat any party or candidate proposing to play this game of high finance for the benefit of the financiers and billionaires of today.

The men who did the real fighting received very little in comparison to those referred to of these billions, and many are living in hospitals, crippled or maimed for life, and many more sacrificed all they had, their lives, for a cause, supposed to be to advance liberty, justice and an equality of privileges to all citizens living under the protection of the Constitution of the United States of America, which is literally a guarantee of life, liberty, justice and happiness to all citizens alike.

STRIKES COST NEARLY TWO BILLIONS IN 1919.

New York, May 19, 1920.—An incomplete list of direct losses due to strikes in 1919 places the cost to labor in wages at nearly \$725,000,000 and to industry at more than one and one-quarter billion dollars, Francis H. Sisson, vice-president of the Guaranty Trust Com-

THE REMEDY

pamy of New York, told the silver jubilee convention of the National Association of Manufacturers here today.

The banker spoke at length on industrial unrest, analyzing its effect on the country's economic conditions and blaming strike fevers for high living costs and increased rents.

STRIKES LAST YEAR NUMBERED 3,374 IN U. S.

Washington, D. C., July 17, 1920.—(Special.)—Labor strikes and lockouts throughout the United States during the year 1919 totaled 3,374 and involved more than 4,000,000 persons. This is shown by figures which have just been compiled by the bureau statistics of the labor department.

Reports of the bureau showed the termination of 1,961 strikes in 1919, of which 624 were won by employers, 533 by employes, 729 were compromised, in the case of 42 of them employes returning pending arbitration, and in the remaining 33 results were not reported. Of the strikes of last year 125 were unauthorized, involving 1,053,256 strikers.

The number of persons in the mine strikes with more than 60,000 persons each involved were upward of 1,600,000. These included a strike of 65,000 employes in the Chicago stockyards; a lockout in the building trades in Chicago, involving 115,000; the steel strike, involving 367,000 persons; the coal strike with 435,000 persons involved; a strike of shipyard employes of New York City and vicinity, involving 100,000 persons; a strike of longshoremen along the Atlantic coast wherein 100,000 persons were involved; and a general strike in Tacoma and Seattle in sympathy with the metal trade strikers, involving 60,000.

CHURCH REPORT ON STEEL STRIKE DEFENDS TOILERS.

New York, July 27, 1920.—The Inter-church World Movement's report on the steel strike of last winter has been made public—a "serious indictment of the labor policy of the United States Steel Corporation," it is called by the secretary of the inter-church committee, which drew up the report.

Appointment of a special commission to bring about immediately "free and open conference" between employes and employers in the steel industry is suggested to President Wilson by the commission.

In going forward with its work the commission faced "far reaching difficulties," declared Dr. Daniel A. Poling, secretary of the investigating commission, adding that "by anonymous attack, by the rifling of its files, by under cover methods of every sort, it has been embarrassed and its work threatened with disaster. But so vital does the commission believe its work to be, so far reaching its recommen-

THE REMEDY

dations for these disturbed times, that its members were prepared to make the most extreme sacrifices rather than have the report fail."

THREE FUNDAMENTAL GRIEVANCES.

A general summary of the findings of the commission showed the fundamental grievances to be:

"(a) Excessive hours; (b) The 'boss system'; (c) No right to organize or to representation."

"All the conditions that caused the steel strike continue to exist," was the final conclusion of the commission. "We feel that unless changes are made, another strike must come. In the measure that working men become intelligent and Americanized will they refuse to labor under such conditions."

The workers' grievances were of long standing, it was said, but had found no expression because: "(a) They were limited largely to foreigners of many races and languages without industrial tradition, education, or leadership to organize.

"(b) Race prejudice effectually kept the more skilled, more intelligent, and better paid American working men from taking up the cause of the foreign speaking workmen.

"(c) Labor unions have been accustomed to look upon the foreigner as an actual or potential strike breaker."

The "long standing grievances," it was said, were brought to expression by

"(a) The part those workingmen played in the war and the treatment afforded them for the sake of war production which gave them a new sense of worth and independence.

"(b) The fight for democracy and news of a larger working men's freedom in their native lands, together with a growing sense of real Americanism.

"(c) The decision of the American Federation of Labor to organize them and its actual work of organizing them into craft unions."

"We found," the report said:

"(a) That the strike was regularly conducted in orthodox fashion, according to the American Federation of Labor rules and principles.

"(b) That, while radicals sympathized with the strikers, as was natural, they were effectually debarred by the strike leaders, and that, far from having influenced in it, they often denounced and opposed those who conducted the strike.

FIND GRIEVANCES REAL

"We find the grievances to have been real," continued the report, as follows:

THE REMEDY

"(a) The average week of 68.7 hours, the twelve hour day, whether on a straight twelve hour shift, or on a broken division of 11-13 or 10-14 hours, the unbroken twenty-four hour period at the turn of a shift and the under-payment of unskilled labor, are all inhuman.

"(b) It is entirely practicable to put all processes requiring continuous operation on a straight eight hour basis, as is illustrated by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

"(c) The 'boss system' is bad, the plant organization is military and control autocratic. The companies' claims that they accord the right to join unions and the opportunity of conference are theoretical; neither is allowed in practice.

"(d) The use of 'under cover' men is severely condemned.

BAD EFFECT OF COMPANY'S STAND.

"(e) The refusal of the United States Steel Company to confer, to accept mediation, and to follow the recommendations of the war labor board incited labor strife and, because of the strength and influence of this corporation, forms one of the greatest obstacles to a just settlement of industrial grievances and unrest at this time.

"The strike was defeated," the findings declare, "by: (a) The strikebreaking methods of the steel companies and their effective mobilization of public opinion against the strikers, through the charges of radicalism, bolshevism, and the closed shop, none of which were justified by the facts.

"(b) The hostility of the press giving biased and colored news.

"(c) Public fear of a general labor war, due to the coincidence of the coal strike and threat of the railroad strike, together with labor's failure to formulate and explain its purpose with regard to public service."—Chicago Tribune, July 27, 1920.

ONE END OF PROFITEERING

The principal mills of the American Woolen Company have been shut down for an indefinite period because of cancellation of orders and lack of orders for next season. In Lawrence, Mass., alone about 14,000 persons have been thrown out of employment. In all 40,000 are idle.

The American Woolen Company, it will be remembered, was one of the big industrial concerns most widely accused of profiteering at a time when such accusations were most vehement after the armistice. Federal indictments followed and are blamed by the company for its troubles. Its own financial statements, after taking out tremendous salaries for executives, high wages for workers, and every

THE REMEDY

possible item of expense, showed a net profit for 1917 of \$13,883,155, or 23 per cent on its capital stock of \$60,000,000, against a pre-war net annual income of \$1,600,000.

Its employes naturally took advantage of this prosperity to force up their own wages. Call it profiteering, legitimate business, or what you will, the fact remains that the company and its employes took advantage of an extraordinary situation to wring from the public every cent they could wring. The result, aided and abetted by similar action in allied or associated industries, was to raise the price of clothing to unprecedented heights. The result of that, in turn, was to check the demand for clothing. So now retailers are cancelling their orders and reducing their demand for next season's goods.

The final result has been to close down the mills. Greed has killed the goose which laid the golden eggs. The income of the company and of its thousands of employes has been cut off entirely. Production has been stopped. The wool market is in a state of stagnation. Growers are so hard hit that many face bankruptcy. Lack of production threatens again to raise the price of clothing. The whole situation offers an illuminating illustration of the fallacy of either producers or workers demanding more than the market will bear.

A similar situation obtains in the building industry. High prices of materials and labor have stopped building in Chicago. Both workers and producers have cut themselves off from income. They pay the penalty in loss of income. The public pays in lack of housing and high rents. A little better vision and a little less greed might eliminate more such painful lessons.—Chicago Tribune.

SCHWAB URGES CO-OPERATION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL.

A plea for co-operation and organization between capital and labor was made by Charles M. Schwab at a banquet of the American Zinc Institute in the Congress Hotel last night.

"Only a small minority of labor," he said, "may be dissatisfied, but the majority is enjoying more happiness now than people of great wealth. As an employer of some 190,000 men I urge co-operation and organization. Any laborer that is treated fair and given a fair chance will be satisfied."

Other speakers were Capt. Robert W. Hunt, 80 years "young," who told stories of Andrew Carnegie, Whiting Williams, and Henry S. Wardner, toastmaster.

ALBERT SHAW SAYS.

Nationalism is not the only question which is treated in Ireland as an Irish question, thought it is actually a human question. For

THE REMEDY

example, there is the republican question. Irishmen are apt to forget that many Englishmen are as republican as Mr. De Valera, and that republicanism, represented ten years ago in Europe by France and Switzerland only, is now, outside the British Empire, the predominant form of government in the world. In England alone the Labor party probably numbers among its members more Republicans than are to be found in the entire Irish population; so there is no danger of any lack of sympathy on that point.

But the experience of the workers under the rule of capitalist republicanism in France and America leave the Labor party very cold as to the millennial hopes for the more enthusiastic republicans.

LABOR PERSECUTION IN THE U. S.

In no part of the British Empire is there such ruthless political persecution of labor as in the United States at this moment. The clear moral for labor is that only economic change can produce real political change; without it the French proverb holds good: "The more we change, the more everything remains the same." That is why the Labor party does not put republicanism in the forefront of its political program as some of the Irish parties do, and why the overseas dominions show no desire to change King Log for President Stork.

HARVESTER COMPANY TO SPLIT 60-40 WITH EMPLOYEES

The International Harvester Company recently announced that every year it will give its employees 60 per cent of its profits after 7 per cent has been paid on the invested capital. This extra compensation will be paid part in cash and part in stock. The plan probably is the most comprehensive profit sharing program thus far undertaken by a large industrial corporation.

Some idea of what the plan will mean to employees may be had from the fact that for 1919 the company had a balance of about \$12,000,000 from earnings after paying dividends on its capital stock. This division of profits, which is termed an "extra compensation and stock ownership plan," is open to all employees of the company in the United States and Canada, with certain limitations regarding length of service.

SHARE 1920 PROFITS

The employees will receive their share of this year's profits, as the plan is made operative as of January 1, 1920.

The profit sharing plan was approved by the stockholders at a special meeting in Hoboken, N. J. At the same time it was voted to increase the preferred stock from \$60,000,000 to \$100,-

REVERSAL OF A WRONG SYSTEM

000,000, and the common stock from \$80,000,000 to \$130,000,000. The additional \$40,000,000 preferred stock and \$20,000,000 of the common stock will be given to employees in the next few years under the profit sharing plan.

The remaining \$30,000,000 common stock will be used in declaring a 12½ per cent stock dividend immediately on the present \$80,000,000 common stock, which will take \$10,000,000, and for payment of future semi-annual stock dividends of 2 per cent. The surplus of the company on December 31, 1919, was \$71,600,000.

MCCORMICK TELLS OF PLAN.

Commenting on the new plan at the stockholders' meeting, President Harold F. McCormick said:

"The directors believe that this plan, which is the result of careful consideration and thought on the part of the executives and directors of the company, will round out a policy of relations with the company's employees which should produce results highly satisfactory to both stockholders and employees.

"A plan put into effect by us in December, 1915, has demonstrated that the employees welcome an opportunity to become stockholders of the company. The plan is much more comprehensive than anything heretofore undertaken by us along this line and, it is believed, will appeal strongly to the Harvester organization."

REVERSAL OF A WRONG SYSTEM.

The entire system by which labor and capital is founded and has been regulated for centuries is based on entirely wrong premises. It originated under a condition where slavery was the basis of manual labor, and was exacted by force at the least possible expense. This created a ruling class calling themselves the nobility, at whose head was the king, or emperor of the nation. One class existed entirely on the labor of the other class. Even in the United States, this system of slave labor as the cheapest method, was adopted at the early creation of this government. It was not changed until after the great Civil War brought on by the insistence of republican ideas against the adoption here of the old monarchial and slave system of labor of the old world.

After a continual struggle of the lower classes, the employe, the servant, or the slave, the proletariat, the serf—against the ruling class, the capitalist and nobility, the king, the emperor, the czar, or the tyrannical monarch—these original conditions have been mitigated, overthrown in a degree, by civil war, revolution and the ad-

REVERSAL OF A WRONG SYSTEM

vance of civilization, but the dominating influences of great capitalists, and autocratic rulers still exist, in what are called civilized countries.

What is required, and will be achieved, is a reversal of this entire system from its foundation up. The first to be considered is the producer and the creator, through labor, of the necessities of human life throughout the country, instead of commencing with the non-producers, figuring large profits amounting to millions of profit to those who grow rich and accumulate millions through the labor of employees. After the former have been secured of an ample provision for sustaining themselves and their families in a respectable, civilized, and equally as healthy conditions as the latter; then, to this can be added the interest on the capital required, and a fair remuneration adequate for the maintenance of the employer, or a fair income on the capital stock of the corporation. It is not necessary to regulate the entire commercial interests of a nation, by the stock exchange, where a gambler and manipulator reaps profits on the fluctuation of stock, while thousands of laborers, who are making the world safe to live in by their daily toil, should be ground down to the last dollar necessary for their existence, thus to increase dividends on thousands and millions of watered stock, manipulated by those who are not doing one honest day's work in a year.

Now this great reversion of the economic system of the present age in so-called civilized countries, is not to be obtained through irrational methods, such as those proclaimed by the Soviet Government of Russia, which undertakes to deprive men of property by force, nor is it to be obtained by civil war, by unreasonable strikes, or secret plottings against a practical and liberal government like that of the United States of America. The Constitution of the United States contains a bill of rights. According to its provisions every man has an equal protection, as long as he is loyal to its provisions. Under this constitution, every necessary law can be created for obtaining equal privileges necessary to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all alike.

As an illustration of this fact, and the great principles underlying the Democratic system of government under a representative form of government, Abraham Lincoln accomplished, as the President and representative of a free people, the overthrow of the old monarchical system of slavery, and abolished slave labor from the United States for all time. He did this, however, not by antagonizing, or violating any of the principles laid down in those great charters of human rights, called the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. Had he gone to work and undertaken by

PROFIT-SHARING

strategy, by unlawful methods, to accomplish this end, he would have probably met the same reward that other traitors to their government have met.

No red flag should ever be permitted to float in the pure, liberty-breathing atmosphere of the United States of America.

PROFIT-SHARING

In the May number of *System*, 1920, is the following article, "Building the Payroll of a Capitalist," by F. H. McPherson, president, Detroit Sulphite Pulp and Paper Co. "Other things being equal, the man who owns property in the business where he works is a better employe than the man who does not."

This brings me specifically to what we have worked out. In August, 1917, we amended our articles of association and provided for \$500,000 of employes' participating preferred stock in addition to our \$2,000,000 of common stock. At the stockholders' meeting at which this was done every share of common stock was represented, and every share voted in favor of the new stock issue. At that time our common stock was \$100 per share. We reduced the par value to \$10 so that the employes' stock could be issued in \$10 units.

There was a bit of psychology involved in doing all this. An employe who would tell his neighbor that he owned a share of stock in the company he worked for would perhaps arouse the comment, "Shucks! you don't amount to anything in that business." But he is a bigger pumpkin if he owns ten shares.

The fundamentals upon which our plan is predicated are: 1. That the employe shall share equally with the employer, financial responsibility, above the 6 per cent cumulative dividend upon his investment. 2. That the employe shall pay in full for his stock just as does the employer. 3. That further participating dividends will be paid to a holder of employes' stock, dependent upon the earnings of the company on its invested capital; that is, capital and surplus. 4. That the dividends which the employe receives shall be at all times at least equal to the dividends paid to the holders of common stock. 5. That length of service merits special consideration, which it receives under the plan here in effect. 6. That the holder of employes' stock shall be assured of a ready market for his stock at a price which will guarantee him against loss on liquidation, if for any reason he sees fit to quit the employ of the company or is disposed. 7. That such stock ownership shall at all times be confined to employes of the company. 8. That the plan shall be sufficiently broad to cover every employe reaching an age of 60 years and who has been twenty-five years in

PROFIT-SHARING

the service of the company may have the equivalent of a pension, which shall be derived from his stock ownership, but which is, in fact, the result of thrift and unbroken service.

Between October 1, 1917, when our present plan went into effect, and October 1, 1919, with an average of about 400 employes, over 50 per cent of the employes became stockholders. At the present time the number is between 55 per cent and 60 per cent; and I see every reason to believe that in time we shall enroll between 80 per cent and 90 per cent of all employes as partners and part owners. Some of the benefits already seen are: (a) Greater interest and satisfaction of employes in their work; (b) A material reduction in the total labor turnover; (c) An almost negligible labor turnover among stockholding employes; (d) A substantial difference in the percentages of accidents as between stockholders and non-stockholding employes, some part of which, at least, can be credited to the plan now in effect—stock interest naturally creates self-interest, and makes the employe more careful; (e) All of which is having, and is bound to continue to have, a beneficial effect on production with the results that are beneficial to everyone concerned.

This is one way of solving the labor unrest, by adopting a system of profit-sharing. By this method the employes become partners in the business, and will work to promote efficiency and harmony.

In the March number of *System*, Paul W. Litchfield, vice-president and factory manager, The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co., has contributed an article under the heading "Employees Who Govern Themselves," which finally explains this plan adopted by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. of Akron, Ohio.

The Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. have a plan by which the employers and employes co-operate and form a regular democratic government in which all take part. They first held a constitutional convention which was composed of representatives of the management and the workers, the latter chosen by general election. The government of the United States was followed as an example. The constitutional convention studied different types of democratic government and borrowed freely from them, besides being prepared jointly, a representation plan was openly arrived at. After it had gone to the Board of Directors and had been approved by them it was submitted to a general election and adopted by 93 per cent of the voters.

There is a senate of twenty members and a house of forty members, all elected by a direct vote of the plants' citizens. An industrialist is anybody who is over 18, an American citizen, speaks English and has been with the company six months. He has one vote, whether he is the president of the company or the keeper of the gatehouse.

PROFIT-SHARING

The plant is divided into ten districts, and there are two senators at large from each district. Each district contains four precincts, and there is a representative for each precinct.

The senate does not represent one class of workers and the house another, as they do under some of the plans that we studied.

Both represent all the workers. The convention tried as far as possible to avoid ranging class against class anywhere in the system.

The senate and house, acting as the "Goodyear Industrial Assembly," have legislative power to make changes in factory rules and regulations—made by the management—on the subject of wage adjustments, working conditions and the adjustment of grievances.

LABOR TO TAKE PART IN POLITICS.

Farmers and rail employes talk the matter over with Federation. Washington, April 2, 1920.—Farmers and railroad employes joined the American Federation of Labor today in a three cornered discussion here of labor's plan for the coming campaign.

The National Farm Council and the brotherhoods were represented in the meeting of Samuel Gompers, president of the federation, and other federation officials.

MODEL ORGANIZATION IS BEING PERFECTED BY UNION LEADERS.

Charleston, W. Va., April 6, 1920.—A political organization that will be a "model of thoroughness and effectiveness," is being perfected for the coming election by the West Virginia Federation of Labor, according to the campaign plans, made public here today by C. F. Keeney, district president of the United Mine Workers.

The organization will function in every political subdivision of the state from the congressional district to the precinct, he said. In the precinct a committee of five for general work and for special duty at the polls on primary election days, will be named, he added, and there will be a "woman for every precinct, armed with a camera to obtain pictorial proof of any questionable performance about the polls."

The above reports show a disposition on the part of labor leaders to gain what they desire through the regular channel authorized by the Constitution of the United States of America. This is much more laudable than working in the lines of those who are conspiring against our liberal and practical system of government.

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST STRIKES

THE PERPETUAL INJUNCTION AGAINST STRIKES.

If injunctions can be issued to stop strikes, or prevent men from the liberty of fixing the price for their labor, why should not injunctions be used to prevent combinations of industrials and other corporations from uniting and fixing the price of their commodities? The only capital labor has is time and work; labor should be permitted to control this as the sole means of their support, the same as capital and property, without the interference of courts, unless violence is resorted to against the laws of the state.

The great corporation, with a large capitalization, which employs, say 20,000 men, will do everything in its power to prevent an advance of wages of 50 cents a day when demanded before a strike is made, for the reason, that an increase of expenses means a reduction of profits of three million a year, reckoning 300 working days in a year. This 50 cents a day may be very much needed by 20,000 men, to meet the excessive cost of living, but the great corporation will stubbornly refuse an advance of wages, and when a strike is called by the labor union, and the men quit work and refuse to return, will resort to an injunction, in order to force them to work without granting their request.

This corporation, however, does not hesitate when entering into a contract, to arbitrarily add 10 per cent to the price of the manufactured article, and refuse arguing the matter with the purchaser, for the reason that it has no strong competitor, and there is no court that can issue an injunction to compel it to accept the price offered.

The resort to injunctions to restrain strikes, where the workmen are combining only to obtain more pay which is necessary for their decent maintenance, fosters antagonism against the government. Socialism and Bolshevism are brought about in this way. It is a discrimination between the way labor is treated and the way capital is regarded. It was this partiality shown to the ruling classes in Russia, which produced Bolshevism in that unhappy country.

The expelling of five Socialists duly elected by the New York Assembly was also a mistake. If candidates of any party duly elected can be unseated in this way, and no criminal act proven, it will be difficult to draw the line in the future where prejudice and antagonism prevades the assembly.

If this is constitution, Jefferson Davis and other Southern pro-slavery men who were talking treason and secession could have been unseated like the five Socialists were by the New York Assembly.

I am not advocating Socialism, or Bolshevism, or any kind of

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST STRIKES

ism, except 100 per cent Americanism, but I believe in the carrying on of our government according to the Constitution of the United States of America.

I think the stand taken by Lt.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt on the thirty-first of March in the New York Assembly in his maiden speech objecting to the expulsion of the five men was commendable and strictly logical.

The same view of this action was expressed by ex-Chief Justice Hughes.

Charles E. Hughes said that he regarded the expulsion of the Socialists as "a serious blow at the standards of true Americanism and nothing short of a calamity."

"Those who make their patriotism a vehicle for intolerance," he continued, "are dangerous friends of our institutions. I expressed my views upon this question at the outset and I have seen no reason to change them."

Mr. Hughes as a representative of the New York State Bar Association sought to intervene in the hearings given the Socialists at Albany, but was refused permission by the assembly judiciary committee.

UNITED STATES STEEL TRUST.

While Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, refused to negotiate with the representatives of the labor union in regard to a compensation of the employes of the company, he was the spokesman of a tremendous combination regarded by the government as a "combination of combinations" by which directly, or indirectly approximately 180 independent concerns were brought under one business control, "thereby giving it not only the assets and business of that number of producers, but the advantage of their elimination from the field of competition."

MR. LAUCK SUBMITS FIGURES TO THE RAIL LABOR BOARD.

Washington, May 20.—Prices of basic iron and steel products have increased 300 per cent since 1914, according to W. Jett Lauck, consulting economist of the railroad unions. In a brief filed with the railroad labor board and made public here today Mr. Lauck estimated the profits of the large steel companies during the war at \$750,000,000 "or a levy of \$30 on every American family."

The brief declared that the per ton profit of the United States

INJUNCTIONS AGAINST STRIKES

Steel Corporation increased from \$4.69 prior to the war, to \$14.31 in the period 1916-1918. Labor costs increased only 41 per cent in the same period, Mr. Lauck asserted.

Washington, April 28, 1920.—The Federal Government today asked the Supreme Court to rehear the dissolution suit against United States Steel Corporation.

The Steel case "would seem to fall within the Reading case," said the council for the government.

"This case was decided in the government's favor."

"The holding of the steel corporation to be a legal combination under the anti-trust act would appear to conflict with the conclusions expressed in that and other decisions."

The representatives of the labor union are intelligent American citizens capable of reasoning out a business proposition, as well as Judge Gary, who when I first knew him was an employe, and possessed no more influence nor position than the representatives of the union; at that time his sympathies would have been on the side of the working men.

When he becomes the head of a multi-millionaire combination he develops into an autocrat, like the former czar of Russia, or the deified emperor-king of Germany.

Should we proceed to trace the antecedents of many present owners of this great steel combine, we would find that they started life in as humble a position as many of those representing the labor unions.

This is nothing against them, but they have risen to their present financial power through the liberal government under which they have lived, this has given them the opportunities which enabled them to accomplish what they have; they were given free speech, the right individually, or collectively to make contracts for their labor, or material, consequently they should give this same right to other citizens of the United States of America so that they could have an equal chance to advance and become independent.

Like the czar of Russia formerly, and the emperor of Germany in his proud and autocratic sphere of action, these men create unrest and bolshevism, which is the result of unjust rule of one class over another.

Abraham Lincoln when President, during the growth of large corporations, expressed his fear that they would some day menace the liberties and equal rights of the people in the United States.

The Supreme Court with its final decision on all these great and

AMERICANISM VS. BOLSHEVISM

vital questions, where the rule of capital is under consideration, should always bear in mind the fundamental principals of the constitution which protect all citizens and gives each citizen an equal chance.

AMERICANISM VS. BOLSHEVISM.

Former Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle in his book with the above title says, on the subject of remedies. In his best judgment the "major causes of unrest and anarchy in our own country" are:

1. Unassimilated aliens.
2. Ignorant Americans.
3. Increased cost of living.
4. "Red" employers.
5. Unthinking and dishonest adventurers and "Red" misleaders of labor.
6. Oppression of governmental employes.
7. Sickly sentimentalists.
8. Discontented failures and delinquents.

To eliminate these causes of unrest is by no means an easy matter, but Mr. Hanson is ready with a definite program of reform. Restrict immigration, he maintains, and take steps to assimilate those aliens who are permitted to enter the country. "Every facility should be provided to enable the aliens already here to assimilate our ideals.

"One of the greatest hindrances to the Americanization of aliens is the fact that during the past years so many thousands have herded together and established foreign centers or colonies in our great cities. I have visited these foreign settlements, and conditions are unspeakable. One would not believe how many of these people live herded together in crowded tenements, with only the pavement for playgrounds, with the foreign-language press read almost exclusively, and with foreign modes of life and foreign methods of thinking prevailing almost exclusively."

OLE HANSON ASKS SQUARE DEAL FOR COMMON PEOPLE.

Labor and capital must get together and give the public a square deal if the country is to be saved, Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle, told a wildly cheering crowd at the Seventh Regiment Armory last night.

Mr. Hanson declared that the Reds, Communists, Socialists and other kindred organizations, were a "bunch of yellow-streaked intellectual insects," and defied them to contaminate Americans with their "spittoon theories."

"I'm for a selective immigration law," he said. "We should not

CAPITAL AND LABOR

close the door, but we should be sure that the immigrant is mentally as well as physically fit to become an American before we let him."

Only by work, thrift and co-operation can the "vicious circle" of high costs be remedied, he said.

"Labor and capital," he declared, "are sitting at a table playing poker and every chip they wager is paid for by the people."—Chicago Tribune, May 4.

FIGHT BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR.

R. H. Angell, banker and lumberman and acting mayor of Roanoke, Va., at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, April 27, 1920, in Atlantic City, N. J., said: "Labor has made the challenge and we should accept it, for this fight which has been thrust upon us must be fought out some time. It may be as well in 1920. The party that will lead us to salvation is the party that will save us from this trouble."

Mr. Angell is suggesting to one of the great parties to endorse the principles governing capital and to aid it in its fight against labor. If he was willing to give labor a square deal and give labor the same privileges of combination that capital enjoys there would be no occasion for a fight.

Why should there be a fight between capital and labor unless capital wishes to control labor, which is as bad as to have labor control capital. Labor should have just as good a right to judge what it needs for its support and its work as well as capital should dictate what profit it is to have over the usual rate of interest.

James S. Alexander, president of the National Bank of Commerce of New York, said: Concrete action by the government will be necessary for any big effort.

The report on overseas financial measure and a move seeking to put the three thousand business men on record as opposing the soldiers' bonus were features of the day's proceedings.

Capital, he represents, under its combined action is a union as much as labor is a union, not only wishes the government through one of the big parties to control and help it keep down the wages of workingmen, but also calls on three thousand business men to act in preventing the brave boys who went overseas to fight the cause of democracy and by winning with their lives or actions added millions of dollars to the profits of these business men, to prevent them from getting what they are entitled to as a bonus above the small wages they received. It shows the absolute selfishness and ingratitude of combined capital. The great profits from the war, according to these

CAPITAL AND LABOR

men, belongs to them entirely, and neither soldiers nor working men have any right to participate in these profits except merely to get the meagre portion for their absolute daily wants.

The great object of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States is thus boldly illustrated which is to get money by combination which is no more commendable then for labor unions to get money by combination. The members of each union are all made out of the same common clay and neither is superior to the other and show the same traits of human nature.

A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Washington, April 2, 1920.—Attorney General tells House committee about his suit against the packers. He says: "Court proceedings against the 'big five' Chicago packers were instituted because it had come to the time for a slowdown in the industry. The packers were either entitled to a clean bill of health or the public was entitled to a judgment of some sort against them. The consent decree finally agreed upon after the government had instituted suit, was the result. The divorcement decree met every just complaint that had been made by consumers or competitors against the packers. It met them by a judgment with the means of enforcing it. The managers and influential stockholders in the packing corporation can be convicted of contempt of court and imprisoned for any violation of its terms. This makes these five great packers butchers and nothing else. They are no longer a menace to the food tables of America with control of meat substitutes and all other foods.

"I got more for people by the civil action than I ever could by proceeding against them as criminals.

"I wanted to accomplish five things: First, to take the packers out of the stock yard business, out of the terminal railroads which entered the stock yards, and out of the live stock or market publications and keep them out.

"In detail, the plan is worked out so that the defendants themselves may present a plan to dispose of their interests, and if that plan is not approved by the court, then a method is made by which the court may fix the plan.

"That is designed for the purpose of permitting the producers themselves, if they desired, to be substituted in the ownership of the stock yards and terminal railroads for the packers."

Mr. Palmer said the other things he desired to accomplish were to take the packers out of the public storage warehouse business, the retail business and the unrelated line of business.

CAPITAL AND LABOR

"All those things I insisted upon and would not under any circumstances recede from," said he.

Mr. Palmer said he had made no suggestion to the packers as to what his position would be with respect to future legislation by Congress or litigation by the government.

"My personal view," he said, "is that I would like to see this tried out. I believe this a great long forward step. I believe we have gotten things that we have been fighting for years, apparently without hope of getting. I think it will do a great deal of good. I do not promise it is going to mean immediate lowering of prices."

PACKERS' PROFITS TREBLED IN 1915-1917—TRADE COMMISSION SETS FORTH SOME INTERESTING FIGURES.

Washington, May 15.—Profits made by the big meat packing companies in the first three years of the war, 1915 to 1917, "doubled, trebled and quadrupled," according to a special report of the federal trade commission made public today.

From 1912 to 1914 the report said, "the big five—Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Cudahy Co., Armour & Co., Swift & Co.—made average annual profits of \$59,000,000, while in the next three years their net return averaged \$192,000,000.

The commission called attention to the packers' announcement that profits amounted to "only 2 or 3 cents per dollar of sales" and said that in an industry like those under consideration which turn over a product rapidly this is the "equivalent of a high rate of return on net worth (15 per cent or more).

"Rate on investment, not rate on sales, furnish the correct method whereby the reasonableness of profits may be determined," the report added.

Financial statistics used by the packers in their recent advertising campaign "are not based on accepted methods of determining costs and accordingly dependence cannot be placed upon them," the report said. "The whole accounting system of the packers must be revised before dependable figures can be found showing costs and profits by specific products or even for the business as a whole."

Labor unions would be chartered and conducted by prescribed methods and kept under national or state control, and regulated by statutory laws, instead of being left to promiscuous combinations, dictated to by irresponsible officials and walking delegates who resort on occasion to force to accomplish their unrestricted high-handed programs.

GERMANY

CHAPTER III

GERMANY.

Now Germany follows suit, in the inevitable impetus of democracy and after its defeat in struggle for world domination, through military force, under an archaic monarchy, is seeking to reorganize the shattered autocratic governments of its different states and establish something on the order of a modern republic. The old imperial government of the Hohenzollerns, once a world power, which threatened to extend its rule over other nations, has been dissolved entirely beneath the dazzling glare of nineteenth century civilization and liberty, brought into light by the energy and courage of American soldiers co-operating with the allied forces of Western Europe. The history of this war is too extensive to be included in this book. References have been made to other war books.

The twenty-two states which were governed under a monarchical system, each with its constitution limiting the rights of the people, have now thrown off their autocratic rulers and with the three cities of Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck have formed a confederation under a representative republican constitution, a copy of which is included in this book.

This transformation has taken place quicker and with less friction in Germany than in France at the time of Louis XVI, or Russia at the present time, as the mass of the German people are better educated and more suited for self-government. The more rational and intelligent middle class will be able to control the extreme socialistic element and eradicate or overpower Bolshevism and keep control of the state governments. The Bolsheviki do not understand the fundamental principles of the science of government, and are not able to formulate a practical working constitution and establish a state which would be recognized as such by other modern governments. No race or nation could prosper or exist any length of time under the methods which they proposed. This travesty of government, which is a reaction from monarchical despotism, must be driven out of Europe by the allied nations by force, if necessary, before real, modern, and safe republics can be made permanent.

In order to give the Bolsheviki the absolute power to rule, not through a majority vote of all the people as the name indicates (being majority rule), but through the forcible rule of the minority, the bourgeoisie and nobility having been disfranchised or killed.

It has been found that when the leaders of this new form of government have applied to other countries for commercial relations

GERMANY

and for representation, it has been denied them because they do not recognize the ownership of property by individuals and because of their violence in dealing with their adversaries.

A copy of the Soviet Constitution is contained in this book.

THE NEW GERMAN REVOLUTION.

As I anticipated, from what I have learned in regard to conditions in Germany since the armistice, the Royalists and Militarists of Prussia finally sprung their long contemplated revolt against the new republican government of the German states, which had supplanted the former empire and which in many ways had demonstrated its ability to administer the affairs of a liberal government efficiently, according to the regulations incorporated in their new constitution.

This revolt occurred March 13, 1920. On this date, the following telegrams were sent from Berlin through the Associated Press:

Berlin, March 13.—Germany today is in the throes of a counter-revolutionary movement which was successful this forenoon in turning the Ebert government out of Berlin and setting up a new administration in the capital.

President Ebert and his cabinet offering no armed resistance to the revolutionary troops which invaded Berlin from the suburbs, have gone to Dresden and established the seat of the government in that city.

The new government, which has been provisionally proclaimed here with Dr. Wolfgang Kapp as chancellor, has declared the National Assembly dissolved and announced that new elections will be held.

The proclamation was issued promising freedom and order and dissolving the National Assembly.

The old government, through its majority Socialist members, including President Ebert, has issued a proclamation calling for a general strike as the only means of saving Germany from the return of Wilhelm II.

The late government leaders quitted Berlin and were reported at Dresden, where the seat of the old government has been established.

The public at large was taken by surprise. Berlin proceeded today as usual. The chief interest was financial, and commercial circles were absorbed in the sudden rise of the mart. The revolt so far has been bloodless.

Another telegram stated a general strike in Berlin, including all public utilities. There are no street cars, no lights and no water.

GERMANY

This message was sent by Colonel Davis of the American Mission in Berlin, at 11 o'clock this morning to the headquarters in Coblenz.

Unconditional resignation of the leaders of the Kapp government was demanded by the Ebert cabinet, which arrived at Stuttgart by special train from Dresden earlier in the day. The National Assembly has been called to meet in Stuttgart tomorrow afternoon.

After announcing that it was in communication with almost all points in Germany, the following official announcement was made by the Ebert government:

"The constitutional government refuses to negotiate, being responsible to the people for the maintenance of the constitution, and negotiations would only occasion distrust and prolong disorders."

Berlin, March 18.—(By the Associated Press.)—The Ebert government is again in control in Berlin. Vice-Chancellor Schiffer, in whose hands the sudden retirement of Dr. Wolfgang Kapp temporarily placed the administrative power, and Gustav Noske, minister of defense, are engaged in bringing about order in the city and restoring activities to their normal basis. The full ministry is expected back in Berlin tomorrow.

The Baltic troops, leaders of the insurgent bands that marched into Berlin Saturday morning, took vengeance on the people who hooted and jeered them in Wilhemstrasse and Unter Den Linden. They were lined up for their departure out of the city, and after withstanding the jeers for a time they opened fire, wounding several. The crowd rushed to take refuge in the Adlon Hotel, where the wounded were treated.

After the troops had passed Brandenburg gate they fired a parting volley with machine guns, wounding a score or more, and the terrified mob again rushed to the hotel, the gates of which were torn down in the ensuing panic.

The assembly will not be dissolved immediately because it must first approve the budget, dispose of further taxation measures and the law decreeing the nationalization of the railways and pass a new election law.

The French charge d'affaires called on Vice-Chancellor Schiffer and Under-Secretary Von Haniel and complimented them and their government upon the happy and rapid solution of the crisis. He expressed the opinion that it would undoubtedly contribute toward strengthening liberal and democratic thought in Germany.

London, March 17.—Chancellor Kapp, head of the government at Berlin, has resigned in favor of President Ebert, says the Berlin

GERMANY

correspondent of the London Times under date of Tuesday evening. Efforts to form a Kapp ministry have been abandoned.

THE KAPP GOVERNMENT IMPOSSIBLE

Berlin, March 16—(By the Associated Press)—The new Kapp government at Berlin has not found the support it had looked for, and while its hold on the administrative activities is growing weaker, the strength of President Ebert and his supporters, including the members of the national assembly at Stuttgart, has increased materially, if all reports are to be believed. Consequently, Ebert's return to Berlin at an early date is confidently predicted in some quarters.

That Dr. Wolfgang Kapp has virtually reached the end of his resources, so far as concerns himself as head of the revolutionary movement, is evidenced by the fact that he is said to have been ready to retire since Saturday, but was persuaded by Colonel Bauer, leader of the Royalist party, and Major General Ludendorff to remain.

General Groener, the Prussian war minister, the Frankfurter Zeitung asserts, has telegraphed to Field Marshal Von Hindenburg that in his opinion the Kapp-Von Luetwitz government is an impossible one, whether from the viewpoint of home affairs or foreign affairs.

SUFFERING IN WAKE OF STRIKE.

The general strike proclaimed not only in Berlin, but throughout Germany, is more pronounced today than ever, with the result that thousands are feeling the pinch of hunger and the socialist and labor leaders are urging that this weapon be used in its full force in behalf of the constitutionalists.

Dr. Wolfgang-Kapp, after his dramatic entrance into Berlin and his failure to carry out his revolutionary scheme, finally concluded to turn the government back over to Ebert.

The master stroke of Ebert was to leave Berlin as he did without undertaking to attack him by force, thereby bringing on the bloody civil war but by calling upon the labor class to strike. This resulted in throwing the whole machinery of the government into a chaos and Dr. Kapp found it impossible to run the machinery of government. According to the Associated Press, Berlin on the 18th of March witnessed the sudden retirement of Kapp and the return of Ebert and his supporters, including the members of the National Assembly. The regular troops loyal to the Ebert regime guarded the streets and detachments tore down the wire entanglements and barricades which the revolutionary soldiers had erected.

GERMANY

The Baltic troops, which had supported Kapp, marched out of the city, but in doing so took vengeance on the people, who hooted them in Wilhelmstrasse and Unter den Linden, by firing upon them and wounding many in the crowd. After passing Brandenburg gate they fired a parting volley with machine guns, wounding many more.

Dr. Kapp's descent upon Berlin, and his subsequent retreat, precipitated confusion, and it was some time before the government could be readjusted and put in working order. He retired to his East Prussian estate and subsequently escaped in an airplane, after shaving off his moustache, and landed in Stockholm. He was arrested finally at Soedertelje.

As he is wanted in Germany for political offenses he cannot be surrendered, and no demand for his extradition has been made. In the meantime, nothing has been decided as to what disposition will be made of him and he has been held in jail.

The casualties reported from various cities during the fourth day of the revolution in Germany and not including hundreds of wounded and injured follows:

City—	Known Killed
Kiel	606
Frankfort	20
Berlin	66
Treves	59
Charlottenburg	4
Essen	30
Dresden	59
Hamburg	30
Leipzig	20
Stieglitz	15
Haglen	23
Total	932

SOVIET-POLISH WAR.

BY GEORGE SELDES

(Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service)

Berlin, July 26, 1920.—In the absence of Russia's envoy, The Tribune requested the newly-appointed Russian minister to Austria, M. Bronsky-Warshawski, for a statement of the soviet's peace terms with Poland. M. Bronsky-Warshaski replied:

"I am sure the negotiations will finally lead to peace. What

SOVIET-POLISH WAR

need of more bloodshed? We Russians don't want to march into Warsaw, because we don't want to play the part of conquerors.

"In the peace we will make now nothing but the interests of both countries will be considered. We don't want to create a second Brest-Litovsk. We don't demand a common border with Germany. It is a ridiculous calumny to say that we do. But we insist on the right to trade with Germany.

General Defesse, who spent most of last year in Russia, said he felt this was the time for America to go slowly in making any commitments in international affairs, and that he found Senator Harding fully concerned with the safeguarding of American interests.

"In Russia I became acquainted with Lenin, Trotsky, and other Bolshevik leaders," said the general. "The fact is that an extremely grave crisis confronts Europe now. Trotsky has proved a good deal of a genius, and he has built in Russia the greatest military force in the world today. They have sufficient facilities to provide it with ammunition and there has been such reparation of transportation facilities that they are not nearly so bad as is popularly believed here. I think peace will finally be made and that Poland will be established despite the disaster it has suffered. This is a good time for America to give particular attention to its own interests and as little as possible to the concerns of other nations."

"One of our first conditions of peace will be to demand economic freedom and commercial relations with western Europe, and especially Germany. We must and will clear away the French-Polish plans, which want to isolate economically Russia and Germany, because free traffic is vital to both. Danzig therefore is especially important."

"Measures for economic reconstruction will follow those for peace. One can't think of bettering the world without thinking of the re-establishment of Russia's productivity. We know we've got to consider Paris and London, but our supremacy is firmer than ever."

The existing king or emperor in most so-called enlightened nations should expect now to make concessions to the people under advanced stages of society. Sovereigns today should realize that times have changed from the old archaic system of governments, and that people in the twentieth century cannot be expected to plod along according to old methods of absolutism, which obtained in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where one man ruled in accordance with individual ideas, irrespective of the requirements of a new era of society. The prosperity and peace of every nation now demands the consideration of all classes and a liberal concession to their necessary advanced conditions of life.

DISAPPOINTMENT IN PEACE

The entire people should be permitted truly representative monarchies, who elect members of at least one branch of the legislative body through universal suffrage as well as to choose many of the officials who are expected to administer the affairs of cities and towns. The ministry should always be accountable to the legislative body elected by them and not to the sovereign, as is now the form of government in England and its colonies.

Mr. Elliott Wadsworth has an interesting article in the *North American Review* for July, 1920, in which he states that: "Through nearly four and one-half years of the war the people of the world have been constantly buoyed up to superhuman effort with the thought of what peace would ultimately bring." He seems to be, like many others, disappointed in the results of the war, where so many sacrifices have been made. He says, "The effect of bolshevism and the soviet rule, whether a by-product of the war or not, is becoming better and better known as the truth is told of the situation in Russia. The number of people who suffer from this new and strange theory of government is increasing rather than decreasing. Bolshevism has swept over southern Russia and is penetrating into the eastern end of Asia Minor.

"From some personal observations of territories in which the Bolshevik army has held sway for longer or shorter periods, there can be no doubt that it means destruction for well-ordered civilization. A visit from Bolshevik forces leaves nothing that is movable or breakable in dwellings, institutions or factories.

"The countries which have retained their identity and substantially their boundaries are struggling to get back to their normal life."

To bring these countries back to pre-war comforts and efficiency will require the united efforts of the people involved, but it can be done.

Further east in Europe the peace treaty has created a number of new nations which stretch from the Black Sea to the Baltic in the following order:

Roumania: more than doubled in size with new territories to organize and assimilate.

Jugo-Slavia: comprising the old state of Serbia together with the Croats and Slovenes must be knitted into one state with a suitable representative government.

Hungary: with a territory greatly less than was formerly included in its borders and a form of government new to its people.

German-Austria: the remnant of what was formerly the dominating territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, stands isolated in the heart of Europe.

DISAPPOINTMENT IN PEACE

Czecho-Slovakia: consisting of three peoples—the Czechs, Slovaks and Ruthenians—must reorganize and develop its resources without access to the sea except over the railways of its competing neighbors.

Poland: a nation whose people have been for one hundred and fifty years living under the domination of three different monarchies, has organized as a democracy. From the day of its birth it has been called upon to fight for existence, with its army against the Bolsheviks, with its sanitary forces against typhus; and at the same time endeavor to revive its industries under entirely new conditions.

Lithuania: made independent after a century and more of domination by Russia.

Latvia, Esthonia and Finland: each comprising from one and a quarter million to two million people to whom independence had hardly been a dream for many generations.

This breaking up of territory into new political divisions with individual interests, customs, regulations and currency, is a backward step on the path which the world has been following for a hundred years.

During this century the centralization of authority and increased business co-operation between nations has been the outstanding feature of the world's development.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

CHAPTER IV

TWO GREAT CHARACTERS IN HISTORY: WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN.

Should a citizen of the United States of America be asked to name three of its greatest possessions, he would be compelled to answer the memory of GEORGE WASHINGTON and ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. As the creator is greater than the thing created, so the lives of the two great statesmen, above mentioned, who made possible the Constitution, in its present shape, are superior to that important liberty-breathing document. Their personalities, and exalted characters, stand out in the history of the nation they established and preserved, like brilliant stars in the firmament of the heavens.

It will interest those who cherish the memory of these two loyal and patriotic leaders who severally carried our nation through impending dangers successfully, to trace, in outline, the similarity of their lives in many respects.

Washington was born February 22nd, 1732, and Abraham Lincoln February 12th, 1809, only ten years after the former had passed away, December 14th, 1799.

"George was a large, vigorous, healthy youth, and excelled in athletic exercises, manly sports, bold horsemanship, and was noted for his love of wrestling, leaping, throwing the bar, etc. He was strong in arm, and in manhood he had one of the largest hands known at the time;—his height was six feet and two inches."

"He gained the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic at a country school, taught by the parish sexton, one of his father's tenants. Then, when living with his brother, who owned the beautiful estate of Mount Vernon, he attended Williams College, which was much more advanced, where he learned the common English branches, and also surveying and the preparation of legal documents."

Young Lincoln was a strong athletic boy, like young Washington—good natured, kind hearted, and always ready to out-run, out-jump, out-wrestle, or out-lift anybody in the vicinity of his home whom he chanced to meet. He grew to be six feet, four inches tall, and probably had as large a hand as Washington.

Although the boyhood home of Lincoln was much more primitive and humble than that of Washington at his mother's home in Fredericksburg, being only a log cabin, built by his father in the woods of Kentucky, still he was surrounded by beautiful native forests, in which he hunted game of all kinds, and engaged in outdoor



*From over
America*

1863.



George Washington

1796

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN—THE TWO GREAT CHARACTERS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

sports, which he enjoyed fully as well as did Washington his amusements. He breathed the same fresh air of independence in a new country, and bathed and swam in waters as invigorating as those of the Rappahannock.

Directly across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg is the farm where George Washington spent a part of his boyhood. Later he moved with his mother to this town, living in a house that now is known as the "Mary Washington House." The Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities owns and keeps in repair this house and the "Rising Sun Tavern," a hostelry of colonial days and the stopping place of noted men, including Washington and Lafayette. These buildings are furnished in true colonial style, some of the rooms being used as museums, open to visitors.

When young Abraham Lincoln was old enough to be sent to school there was no elaborate free school system to assist him, so that the best that could be done for him, was to start him in a school in a little log cabin in the neighborhood, and this he attended for a very brief period. This proved to be the extent of his school education. Here and in various other ways, assisted by his mother and step-mother, he learned to read, and this enabled him to devour with keen relish such books as he could get, including Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," Mason L. Ween's "Life of Washington" (1800) and his "Life of General Meriam," the Bible, and Shakespeare, with which he became very familiar.

Washington had the advantage of Lincoln in many respects when growing to manhood. His half-brother, who was his senior, and his guardian, was a highly educated man, having attended the best college and university in England, and also became a soldier of marked distinction. He was captain of the Virginia regiment, which fought in the West Indies under Admiral Vernon and General Westworth. He married the daughter of Lord William Fairfax, with whom he served at Carthagenia, and lived at West Moreland. At Mount Vernon, his brother's house, George met many distinguished personages, among whom was Lord Fairfax, who became greatly attached to the young Virginian, and finally intrusted him with the responsible, as well as dangerous undertaking of surveying his vast estates. They had often hunted together, and Lord Fairfax admired the horsemanship, skill, and good sense of young Washington. Washington was instructed in the details of military tactics and science by Adjutant Muse and Jacob VanBraem, who became his master-fence.

Washington spent nearly a year in the Valley of the Shenandoah, where many of the estates were situated, and where many battles—

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

never anticipated by Washington—were fought subsequently during the Civil War. It took three years to complete all these surveys, ending 1747. This experience in border-life was of great benefit to him in after life, during the War of the Revolution.

Washington, undoubtedly possessed many characteristics similar to those possessed by Lincoln, who displayed many of the high and noble qualities exemplified in Washington.

Members of the Lincoln family in England were prominent for many generations, as noted in history, and Abraham Lincoln was undoubtedly descended from this family, although all connection has been lost. Washington was connected with the Washington family which lived in Sulgrave, Dundury, England. Many members of this family were distinguished citizens of England.

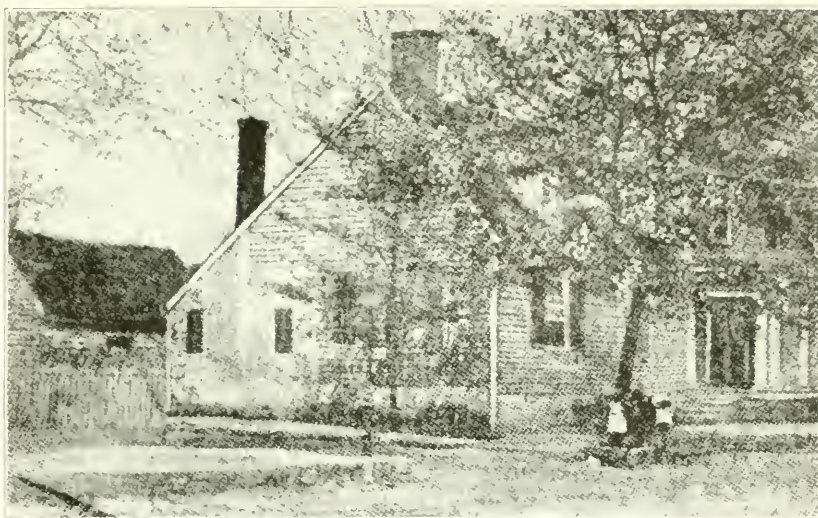
The birth of a great character in a log cabin instead of a grand palace, does not lower the real power and native superiority of the man. A lion is a lion wherever born. The foal of a fine Arabian steed develops into a fine horse, no matter wherever foaled.

Lincoln had to borrow the books which were necessary for him to study in order to gain a knowledge of mathematics and surveying, and he was his own instructor. Later, when he returned from the Black Hawk War, he was employed in the County Surveyor's office of Sangamon County, and was finally engaged in surveying land in that county.

Washington was elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which gave him an opportunity of learning parliamentary proceedings, and of taking part in debates, in important government matters; he was also elected a member of Congress, and held this position when war was declared against England. He was chosen Commander-in-chief of the American forces.

Lincoln was elected a member of the legislature of the State of Illinois several times, and was also sent to Congress as representative from Illinois, in 1846. Here, like Washington, he received his training in governmental and political affairs; he became accustomed to debate, and public speaking; subsequently, as a lawyer, he became familiar with the laws of the country and the Constitution, which he so ably defended.

Washington had great experience in Indian warfare, while Lincoln had merely a glimpse of it in the Black Hawk War. Washington was a well trained soldier, and a great general, and personally commanded the army for eight years during the Revolution for which he refused all compensation.



EARLY HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON, FREDERICKSBURG



ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S EARLY HOME

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

The following description of George Washington, as General and President, written by the historian Bancroft, will, in many respects, apply equally as well to Abraham Lincoln.

At the time Washington was chosen Commander-in-chief of the army June 17, 1775, he was forty-three years old. It happened to be on the same day on which the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought, under Colonel William Prescott. Washington arrived at Cambridge, Mass., July 7th, and his headquarters remained there until after the evacuation of Boston by the royal forces March 17, 1776. He at first lost several battles on account of the rawness and insufficiency of the troops under his command, and the superior training and equipment of the British forces under Sir William Howe and General Clinton. At Brandywine he was attacked and driven back with a loss of twelve hundred men, Sept. 11, 1777, and his friend Lafayette was severely wounded. He was forced to retreat again with heavy losses at Germantown, October 14th. Major Howe captured Fort Mifflin and Mercer on the Delaware.

The patriotic forces under Washington had the same experience, at first, which overtook the Union forces at the commencement of the Civil War, which was composed of undisciplined men, like the three months men, who were in the first battle at Bull Run, and other battles immediately following. The reason of this was, in part, that the secession army was better prepared and led by an experienced general like Robert E. Lee, and had been preparing for the war a long time previously. Washington, like Lincoln, was blamed for these early reverses, but what else could be expected, when he had few properly drilled, or equipped soldiers to operate with.

Lincoln, as president and also Commander-in-chief of the army and navy did not personally take command of the Union forces, but had to rely on the best generals he could select. He encountered much greater obstacles on this account, and in many other ways than Washington. Instead of Benedict Arnold, he had traitors on every side, and the most aggressive, vindictive and revengeful enemies possible to contend with. While the seceded states were practically united, the North was divided, and opponents to the administration, like Governor Sevmore of New York, Vallandigham of Ohio, and even some of his own generals ridiculed and hampered his plans and opposed, instead of assisting him in carrying on a successful campaign.

In 1782 Washington's efforts to bring about a successful issue of the War of Independence, was continually thwarted by the discontented officers, and men in his army, who were not at times properly provided for by the federal states, represented by the Continental

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

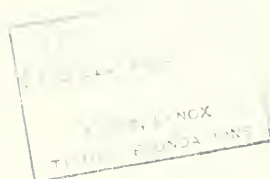
Congress. They were dissatisfied with a republican form of government on this account, and clamored for a stronger power to be lodged in an individual ruler. They wanted to make Washington king, as he had led them through difficulties, apparently insurmountable, to glory and victory. The answer Washington gave them was: "If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your scheme could be more disagreeable."

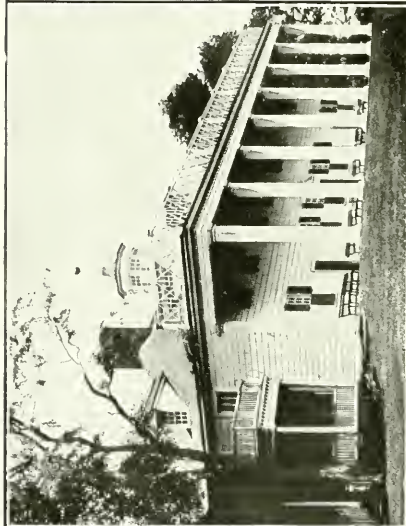
The vast estate inherited from his brother Lawrence, together with the large fortune of his wife, gave Washington, in those early days, a position similar to that of a titled personage owning large estates in England, or even a prince of the royal family. He was able to serve his country with his skill, experience, and wonderful ability, for eight years as commander-in-chief of the army, without compensation. He was voted five thousand dollars a year by the Continental Congress, but he refused to accept it. He even advanced 14,500 pounds from his private fortune, toward defraying the expenses of his army. This however, was refunded after the close of the war.

Washington advocated a federal union. He favored a continental army for defense, and a constitutional form of government. He did not fully approve of the Articles of Confederation, and in an address sent to the government of the Thirteen States, advised a revision of the constitution by a federal convention. This convention was called May 14, 1789, and after four months of incessant labor, with Washington as president of the convention, a new constitution was formed and ratified by all the states by June 25, 1788. Washington was elected President of the United States, January 1, 1789.

Washington was instrumental, therefore, in giving the United States its great constitution, under which, without material change, the government was administered for nearly a century, but its defects, which were not due to Washington, finally precipitated in 1861 the Civil War, and Abraham Lincoln, with his loyal co-laborers, was the instrument in the hands of Providence to complete this wonderful document, by the success of the Union forces, which made possible the addition of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

Washington was opposed to the institution of slavery. In 1877 he drafted a resolution in Fairfax County, stating that no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on the continent. In 1783 Lafayette bought an estate in Cayenne in order to emancipate the slaves. Washington, in writing to him, said, "It is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would God that a like spirit might diffuse itself in the hearts of the people of this country;





GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON AND WIFE

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

emancipation might, and assuredly ought to be affected, and that, too, by legislative authority." His wife's slaves were entailed upon her, and could not be freed until her death, and his own had intermarried with them, so he provided by his will for the emancipation of them all at her death.

Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation freeing all slaves in the United States, September 22, 1862.

WASHINGTON'S SENSE OF HUMOR.

Being one day at the table with Mrs. Washington and Col. Henry Lee, he asked the latter whether he knew where he could get a pair of carriage horses. "I have a fine pair, General, but you cannot get them," said Lee. "Why not." Because you never pay more than half price for anything, and I want full price for my horses." This set Mrs. Washington laughing, and her parrot joined in the laugh. Whereupon the General quickly replied, "You are a funny fellow, Lee, you even make the parrot laugh."

Lincoln was noted for his humor. At one time Lincoln ridiculed the assumed military reputation of General Cass in the Black Hawk War, and then referred to his own experience as a soldier in the same war, saying, "I fought, bled, and came away. If General Cass saw any live, fighting Indians at the battle of the Thames where he served as aide-de-camp to General Harrison, it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry."

"Washington's private correspondence, his general orders, and his public acts of all kinds, contain devout recognition of Divine Providence in the government of the world, and his whole life bears witness to the influence of a prevailing sense of religious responsibility," said Edward Everett. This will apply equally as well to Abraham Lincoln. You might say of each, "He is the greatest of good men and the best of greatest men."

That Abraham Lincoln accomplished his main object, the set purpose and ambition of his life, is certain. He reached the highest office in the gift of the people, and obtained the power he desired, which he exercised to maintain the Union and the Constitution in their entirety and integrity. He lived to see the Union secure, and the shackles taken from the limbs of the slave, and liberty guaranteed to them as a result of his efforts. The constitution was finally amended so as to suit the requirements of a free people.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

An efficient navy should be maintained large enough to protect the Pacific and Atlantic coasts, as well as the Panama Canal at all times. A fair size army should be kept in readiness for action to cope with formidable foreign or domestic enemy at short notice, and contingents should be furnished by states when called for. All able bodied boys and young men should be trained in military tactics while attending public and private schools and colleges, or universities, so that they would be able to do service in the army if required, for the defense of the country. This has been recommended by the Honorable Lindley M. Garrison, Secretary of War, and General Leonard Wood, the same system has been carried on for ten years in Switzerland. An adequate number of flying machines and hydro-planes, as well as submarines, should always be in readiness to compete with similar engines of warfare of other countries, in assisting the navy and army. The area of our country eventually should extend south to include Mexico, Central America and Columbia with the Panama Canal.

These precautions will prevent and not encourage war and will aid in securing peace at all times. The thorough training of young men for military and naval service is of great importance to the government and should be constantly increased to keep pace with the growth of the nation and its needs.

A correct rule for governments to pursue, would be "To do unto other nations as you would that they should do unto your own nation."

SAYINGS OF MR. LINCOLN.

"Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold."

"Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong."

"Let us have the faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

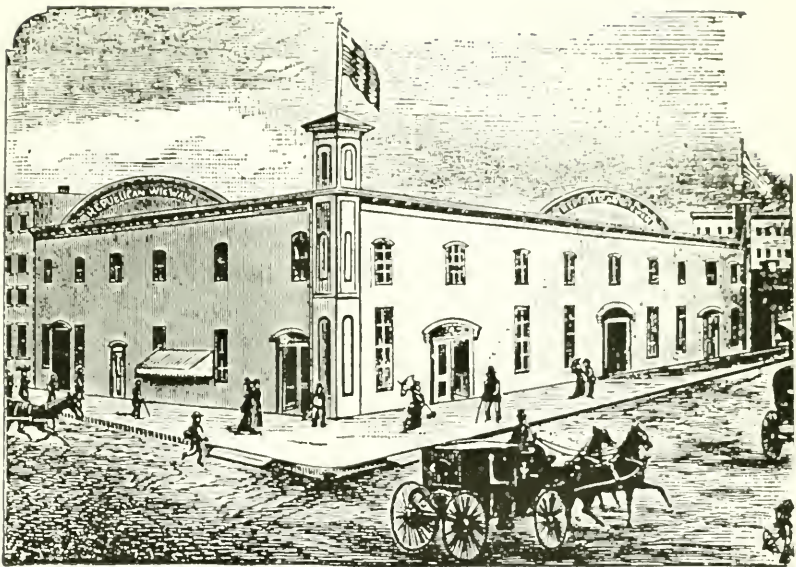
"The purposes of the Almighty are perfect and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to perceive them in advance."

"I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

"The way for a young man to rise is to improve himself every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wishes to hinder him."

"The reasonable man has long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of evils among mankind."

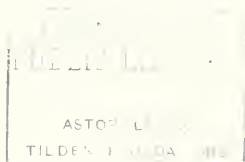
In the Civil War the South had been plotting several years and



The above cut was obtained from the Chicago Historical Society.

I remember the wigwam, which I saw constructed on the corner of Monroe and Market Streets, and also the great Republican Convention held there in May, 1860. Abraham Lincoln was nominated as President and Hannibal Hamlin as Vice-President. William H. Seward received 173½ votes to Lincoln's 102 votes on the first ballot. S. T. Chase received 49 ballots and Semion Cameron 60½. On the third ballot Lincoln received 231½ votes and before the figures were removed a delegate from Ohio changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln. William M. Everts moved to make the vote unanimous, which was done.

Addison Proctor, the only living delegate to the National Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln, was the guest of honor at the last Republican Convention in Chicago, June 8, 1920.



ASTOR L
TILDEN F. 100A 1915

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

therefore had the start in actual preparation for the war which they anticipated. They had accumulated arms, ammunition, etc., through the treachery of John Floyd, Secretary of War under Buchanan, Howall Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, Jefferson Davis, who was in the Senate, and many other officeholders in Washington. Many owned large estates and were accustomed to outdoor sports; they were attended by slaves, and were better drilled and prepared for war than those of the North, who were called into service under the President's Proclamation. So at first, the southerners succeeded in defeating the undisciplined northerners at the battle of Bull Run and in other engagements. General Robert E. Lee, a West Point graduate, had been in the Mexican War, and afterwards in command of the Military Academy at West Point. He was an accomplished military officer and soon organized and drilled his forces, so that he had under his control a fine, well-disciplined army of over a hundred thousand men, which became a continual menace to the City of Washington.

In the case of Oliver Cromwell, he trained his army himself, controlled it absolutely, and was not afraid to lead it personally with unrelenting energy. There was no dilatory general like McClellan to hesitate and disregard his orders. His will was absolute throughout the length and breadth of England and his army.

As Lincoln was elected by a majority of the votes cast in the presidential election of 1860, and his views on the question of union and slavery were generally known, it was for him as president and commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to issue his commands to his generals on the conduct of the war, and to dictate the policy of the administration. It was not the duty or privilege of Horace Greeley, Horatio Seymore, Vallandigham, or any one holding an official position, or a private citizen, to interfere or to undertake to influence the people against the method of procedure, as if he were incompetent or had not full authority to rule.

Although Lincoln, may at times have appeared to consider the advice of unauthorized citizens or officials under him, he finally demonstrated that he fully understood the perilous condition of the country, and that his will, like Cromwell's, was supreme in carrying out the policy which he thought right. Had these men left Mr. Lincoln alone to conduct the government and war with the assistance of his cabinet, it is probable that the war would have been terminated much sooner than it was, and with less cost of life and treasure. The newspapers kept General Lee posted as to the plans of the government, and also as to the hostility of those in the North who were opposed to the administration. The people had not chosen

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

these men who undertook to tell Lincoln what to do, nor was the war to be carried on under the direction of newspapers.

It was very evident by what we know of Oliver Cromwell that had he been the chief magistrate of this nation, with the powers delegated to him that were vested in Abraham Lincoln, he would not have tolerated such interference, and that he would have taken measures to control military reports so that they would not have been prematurely published. He not only would have set aside, for the time being the habeas corpus act, but would have stopped much of the secession talk in the North and would have declared martial law throughout the land. He would have collected and organized a powerful army of the best elements of American valor and patriotism, and reserved his final attack on the enemy until this army was strong enough to overpower the army of the conspirators which had been collected by the rebel leaders under the most stringent demands. "The whole military resources of the Confederates at that time were under control by three men: President Jefferson Davis, Commander-in-chief General Robert E. Lee, and General Joseph E. Johnson, all of them trained soldiers and one of them a trained statesman. There was entire confidence and perfect harmony of action between them. They acted together for one object and that was success." (*Life of McClelland* by G. S. Hillerd.) In the South the people were not permitted to interfere with the movements of the army and administration as they were in the North.

IN MASONIC REGALIA.

A GLIMPSE AT AN UNUSUAL SIDE OF HIS LIFE.

How Our First President Was Honored By His Masonic Brethren.

When Washington offered himself as a candidate for the mysteries of Masonry to Fredericksburg Lodge in 1752 warranted lodges had not been in existence in America twenty years. The Fredericksburg Lodge had been organized under authority from Thomas Oxnard, provincial grand master at Boston, and when Washington sought admission in the lodge its officers were Daniel Campbell, master; John Neilson, senior warden, and Dr. Robert Halkerson, junior warden. Washington was initiated an entered apprentice in this lodge on Nov. 4, 1752; passed a fellowcraft March 3, 1753, and raised to the sublime degree of master Mason Aug. 4, 1753. The old record book of this lodge is still preserved, also the Bible on which



Abraham Lincoln
1858

Photograph by Fassett from original in possession of Chicago Historical Society

FIELD LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

he was obligated and the seal of the lodge. The Bible is a small quarto volume, and bears date, "Cambridge, Printed by John Field, Printer to the University, 1688."

Washington's initiation took place a few months before he was 21 years of age. The lawful age at which a candidate may receive the mysteries is strictly conventional, while the principle upon which the requirement was founded is a landmark in Masonry. In Washington's admission to the fraternity a few months before he became 21 years of age, if the conventional rule in this country and in other English lodges as then existing was not fully complied with, no Masonic principle was thereby violated. For five years after becoming a member of the craft Washington was engaged in military campaigns, and his attendance at the meetings of his own lodge during this period could not have been frequent. It has been claimed that Washington was made a Mason during the old French war in "The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues," on the registry of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but this has proven to be erroneous. Traditions, which no Masonic records of that period now existing either verify or contradict, state that Washington and his Masonic brethren held military lodges during the old French war; and there is a cave near Charlestown, in Virginia, a few miles from Winchester, where his headquarters for two years were held, which to this day is called "Washington's Masonic Cave." It is divided into several apartments, one of which is called "The Lodge Room." In the spring of 1844 the Masons of that vicinity held a celebration there to commemorate the event.

On Dec. 27, 1779, American Union Lodge met to celebrate the festival of St. John the Evangelist at Morristown. Washington was one of the sixty-eight visiting brethren. About this time the question of making Washington general grand master over all the lodges in the United States was discussed, but the agitation was ended by the declaration of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts that no determination upon the subject could, with propriety and justice due to the craft, be made until a general peace should take place throughout the continent. The mere proposition to select Washington general grand master caused the widespread appellation of the title to Washington, and the illusion was perpetuated by various methods, one of which was by the striking in 1797 of a Masonic medal bearing Washington's effigy, with the emblems of Masonry and the initials "G. W., G. G. M."—The Mail and Express Souvenir of the Centennial Celebration of Washington's Inauguration, April 29 and 30, 1889.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

WASHINGTON: PATER PATRIAL.

High over all whom might or mind made great,
Yielding the conqueror's crown to harder hearts.
Exalted not by politicians' arts,
Yet with a will to meet and master Fate,
And skill to rule a young, divided State,
Greater by what was not than what was done,
Alone on history's height stands Washington;
And teeming Time shall not bring forth his mate,
For only he, of men, on Earth was sent
In all the might of mind's integrity;
Ne'er as in him truth, strength and wisdom blent;
And that his glory might eternal be,
A boundless country in his monument,
A mighty nation his posterity.

—Richard Grant White.

GOVERNOR HOWELL'S VERSES.

When, one hundred years ago, Washington was on his way from Philadelphia to New York to be inaugurated, the fair women of Trenton, N. J., went out to meet him, singing the following ode, composed by the governor of the state, Mr. Howell:

Welcome, mighty chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe,
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and mother grave,
Those thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers.

PAUL SELBY

A personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and associated with him in the first steps in the organization of the Republican party, wrote the following:

(Dedicated to Veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic.)

Our Union banner waves
O'er freemen, not o'er slaves,
The patriots' pride;
In Freedom's fane, as one,
And wreathed the names they sung,
Lincoln and Washington,
The Nation's guide.



LINCOLN AND HOWARD

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

The character, the counsels, and examples of our Washington * * * they will guide us through the doubts and difficulties that beset us; they will guide our children and our children's children in the paths of prosperity and peace, while America shall hold her place in the family of nations.—Ed. Everett (Speech, July 5, 1858, "Washington Abroad and at Home").

While Washington's watchword, such as ne'er
Shall sink while there's an echo left to air.

—Byron (Age of Bronze).

O Washington! thrive glorious name,
What due rewards can man decree—
Empires are far below thy aim
And scepters have no charms for thee;
Virtue alone has your regards,
And she must be your great reward.

—Philip Freneau (Washington's arrival in Philadelphia).

"My ardent desire * * * and aim has been * * * to keep the United States free from any political connections with any other country, to see them independent of all and under the influence of none."—George Washington to Patrick Henry, October 9, 1795.

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world."

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience proved that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."—From Washington's farewell address.

When the federal convention met at Philadelphia, May, 1787, to form the present constitution, Washington was made the presiding officer. He was instrumental in holding the convention together when they were at different times about to dissolve the convention, and he also incorporated several wise provisions in the constitution.

Lincoln, in 1865, was instrumental in obtaining the adoption of the 13th amendment abolishing slavery.

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. Speech to both Houses of Congress, Jan. 8, 1790.

A great and lasting war can never be supported on this principle (patriotism) alone. It must be aided by a prospect of interest, or some reward.—George Washington (Letter to John Banister, Valley Forge, April 21, 1777).

I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

me to do it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.—George Washington (Farewell address).

Here you would know, and enjoy, what posterity will say to Washington. For a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years.—Benjamin Franklin (Letter to Washington, March 5, 1780).

You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to "preserve, protect and defend it.—Abraham Lincoln (First inaugural address, March 4, 1861).

America has furnished to the world the character of Washington! And if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.—Daniel Webster (Completion of Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1843).

LINCOLN'S TRIBUTE TO WASHINGTON, LOST FOR SEVENTY-EIGHT YEARS, FOUND.

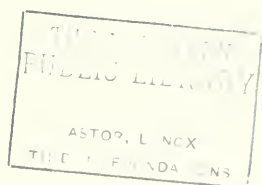
New York, Feb. 21.—Seventy-eight years ago tomorrow, in Springfield, Ill., where his tomb is now a shrine before which a nation bows in reverence, young Abraham Lincoln paid tribute to George Washington.

The words he uttered then, perhaps as eloquent as his world-famed Gettysburg address, have been lost for three-quarters of a century in the pages of a country newspaper hidden away in the files of the Congressional Library. They were brought to light to be given to the world for the first time almost on the eve of another birthday anniversary of the first President.

"This is the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birthday of Washington," he said. "We are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name on earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name an eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

The text of this unknown example of Lincoln's eloquence was found in Washington by Lucien Hugh Alexander of Philadelphia, who gave it to the Associated Press today.

An account of the ceremony at which Lincoln spoke was contained in the copy of the Sangamon Journal published at Springfield on Feb. 25, 1842.





THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

Betsy Ross made it; Washington adopted it, and Lincoln preserved it

The flag under which the earlier settlers in this country fought when they threw off the yoke of foreign rulers; the flag that signalled to the world the Declaration of Independence; the flag that triumphed over slavery in this country and guaranteed perpetual liberty over 100,000,000 people; the flag that has stood for integrity and truth for nearly one and a half centuries is the flag that Betsy made. The picture is printed above by the courtesy of Martin E. Buckley, author of "Poems of Loyalty." This flag should be upheld and protected from all its enemies and from dishonor by all who live beneath its protecting influences. No advocate of Bolshevism, anarchy, nihilism, national dishonor or sectionalism can raise the standard which declares more for equality, integrity and liberty than the Star-Spangled Banner. The people of all races and classes living beneath its protecting care need no better ensign than this flag to guard their rights than the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Star-Spangled Banner.

This flag is emblematic of all the rights that man can ask for in the name of liberty, and it has never represented a debased currency or sheltered intentionally national dishonor, or treason.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

(Contribution from Hon. E. E. Wood of Chicago, who saw Lincoln, alive and in death, having served in the Union Army, and at this writing holds the distinction of a service in the recent World's War under commission from the United States War Department.)

When Illinois brought out Lincoln as a favorite-son candidate for nomination to the presidency in the Republican National Convention of 1860, held in Chicago, the most prominent aspirant for the honor before the country was William H. Seward of New York, whose campaign manager was Thurlow Weed of Albany. Mr. Lincoln remained in Springfield and Mr. Seward did not come to Chicago. In the Convention, Mr. Weed was very much in evidence as a recognized "maker of presidents." The nomination of Mr. Lincoln on May 18th on the third ballot with 231½ votes to Seward's 180 votes, with the 234 votes required for a choice made up by four votes dramatically transferred from Salmon P. Chase, was a bitter blow to the New York leader; and just as Mr. Weed was about to catch the train to return home a telegram reached him from Mr. Lincoln. This message requested his immediate presence in Springfield. From that moment the interests of those two leading Americans became of mutual benefit to each other, and of important service to the whole country. Seward was slated for Secretary of State during the Springfield conference, and years later Mr. Weed related to the writer the story of another telegram from Lincoln that had to do with the affairs of nearly the whole world. He said:

"It was in the very midst of our Civil War, when the head of treason was most defiantly raised, that I one day received a telegram from President Lincoln to hasten to Washington. Once there, I was met by Mr. Lincoln, who told me that he was experiencing no little alarm over the attitude of the foreign powers, and especially of England, as revealed by consular correspondence and the pulse of the European money-centers. The President then asked me to see Archbishop Hughes and Mr. Beecher, and start with them by the earlier steamer to Liverpool on a mission of conciliation in the interests of our Union and our cause. We first called on John Bright, in England, and gained him to the side of liberty; then on Disraeli; then on the ranking Cardinal and then on Queen Victoria. From Great Britain we visited France, where we were well received, and thence went to the German Court of Emperor William, meeting Bismarck and others in powers. We then proceeded to Russia and met the Czar, Alexander II, and his advisers. The result was the salvation of the Union, in that the inclination to side with the South previously evinced in certain strong quarters was turned aside and rendered neutral."

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

Lincoln says:

There has been war enough—I know what the American people want, but thank God I count for something, and during my second term there will be no more fighting.

Vol. XIII, p. 34. Scribner. Marquis de Chambrum.

That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government, of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish on the earth. Speech of Gettysburg, Nov. 19, 1865.

With malice towards none, and charity for all, and firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right. Second inaugural speech.

I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. Abraham Lincoln—Speech, June 17, 1858.

In giving freedom to the slave we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. Abraham Lincoln—Annual message to Congress, Dec. 1, 1862.

Confronted by a proposition to entangle our destiny with the fate of foreign nations, Washington refused. In his farewell address he said:

“Why forego the advantage of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

“It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.

“Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concern. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.”

What was true when these wonderful words of wisdom were spoken, is true today and will be true forever.

Lincoln, like Washington, will live forever, because he modeled his life and administration along the lines laid down by the father of his country. What he said in eulogy of Washington applies to himself.

George Washington was the first American citizen to discover the great advantage of the waterway between the New England States and the Gulf of Mexico. Tennessee was isolated from the colonies on account of lack of means for transportation, consequently

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

this state opened up commercial relations with Spain and the Spanish possessions and was about to secede from the colonies and join the Spanish possessions. George Washington said it would never do, and invited leading men from Tennessee to meet him at Mount Vernon. When they came he took a map of America and drew a line from a point in the eastern colonies to the Ohio River, showing that a connecting link could be made for transportation to the Ohio River from the Eastern States and down the Mississippi River to the Gulf. This method of reaching Tennessee from the colonies prevented Tennessee from seceding and this state subsequently acted in unison with the New England States, for the formation of a government for the United States.

Abraham Lincoln—I may truly say—were he still living he would be one of the first to advocate the patriotic movement of erecting a suitable memorial to our 3,000,000 loyal soldier-citizens who nobly took part in the world's great war to gain a victory for the cause of liberty and justice—an exposition building where our great trade and commerce with the world would find a permanent home. He would also, I am sure, be anxious to do all in his power to bring about close and friendly trade relations with our sister republics through the means of a deep waterway to the gulf. With the opening of the deep waterway as proposed, connecting the Atlantic with the Gulf of Mexico through the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and intermediate waterways, Chicago will assume a degree of importance never attained before. The South American States would be brought to our door. The Panama Canal will open up an easy access to the Orient, making Chicago the natural center of the commercial world.

The international waterways commission lately held hearings in Buffalo on the project of enlarging the ship channel in the St. Lawrence River from Lake Ontario to Montreal at the joint expense of the United States and the Canadian governments.

The proponents of the plan include fourteen northwestern states, the prairie provinces of Canada, northwestern cities and ports, and shipping interests on the Great Lakes. Their chief argument is lower freight rates to tidewater and increased electrical power from the improved channel.

Henry C. Barlow of Chicago, member of a large delegation from the Middle West, said the Illinois valley was looking for an outlet to the sea. In championing the cause of a ship canal to tidewater by way of the St. Lawrence, he declared the West was not against the development of the Erie Canal.

"We are in favor of it," he declared. "The next generation will

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

need all the waterways possible to handle the developing commerce and industry of America. Development of Canada will help America just as development of the United States has helped Canada."

Like Washington, the kindly and considerate character of Mr. Lincoln finally won for him the love and veneration of his countrymen and the world, and in the end he accomplished with the aid of an army, which in the meantime had become thoroughly organized and trained, the defeat and subjugation of the Confederate forces. Continually surrounded in Washington by dangerous enemies and the friends of the Confederacy, as well as those who were dissatisfied with the methods of the administration, Lincoln was hampered on every side, and thus prevented in the earlier accomplishment of his purposes. Then when victory was finally obtained, in an unguarded moment, a misguided and impetuous young traitor treacherously assassinated the wise, generous, patient, and forgiving head of the country. He might, like most rulers of Europe under similar circumstances, have protected his person and it would not have excited criticism from any reasonable man; and it was due from the nation that he should have been constantly guarded, so that he might have lived and carried out the well-organized plans of reconstruction which he had formulated in his mind.

It is my opinion that many of these assassinations, were brought about by the injudicious, or intentional influences of irresponsible writers or public speakers who incite the popular mind. Reckless men rush off and seek to settle some real or imaginary wrong by killing some prominent leader or official.

A body-guard should be furnished by the government for all its presidents, from the time they are chosen until the termination of their term. This should be done as a matter of course by the government, and the president should have no authority to object to such protection, for it is as necessary here as in the most severe despotisms in the world. There are not only many treacherous assassins to guard against, but also crazy individuals like Guiteau, who are liable to attack public men without any reasonable ground.

During my life, besides the President Abraham Lincoln, the following noted Americans have been attacked or killed by assassins:

NOTED AMERICANS ASSASSINS' MARKS.

Here is the appalling list of attempts, successful and unsuccessful, on the lives of prominent Americans since 1881.

1881—July 2: James A. Garfield, President, shot twice in the

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

back by Guiteau. One bullet lodged two inches under pancreas. Died at Elberon, N. J., on September 19, 1881.

1891—December 4: Russell Sage, attacked with bomb by Henry W. Norcross of Boston. Sage unhurt, but William R. Laidlaw, used as a shield, wounded in 180 places and recovered. Norcross instantly killed.

1892—July 23: Henry Clay Frick, in Homestead strike, stabbed twice in body and shot once by Alexander Berkman. Frick recovered in three weeks.

1893—October 28: Carter Henry Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, shot near heart, in abdomen and in left hand by Eugene Pendergast. Harrison died in seventeen minutes.

1901—September 6: William McKinley, President, shot by Leon Czolgosz. One bullet penetrated stomach and lodged in muscles of back. McKinley died September 14, 1901.

1907—January 6: Richard Rushton, head of Fourth Street National Bank, Philadelphia, attacked with bomb by Rollo Steele. Steele killed. Cashier W. J. McLearn and W. I. Crump died shortly. Rushton injured in many places; recovered in two months.

1910—August 9: William J. Gaynor, Mayor of New York, on deck of steamer Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, shot by James J. Gallagher. Bullet struck from back under ear and split. One piece lodged there, the other piece in floor of mouth, near angle of jaw. Gaynor was fully recovered September 24.

1912—October 14: Theodore Roosevelt, candidate for President, shot by John Flammang Shrank, at Milwaukee. Bullet flattened on fractured fourth rib four inches from breast bone. Roosevelt was about in two weeks and rapidly recovered.

1914—April 17: John Puroy Mitchel, Mayor of New York, shot at, but missed, by Michael P. Mahoney. Bullet struck Frank Polk, Corporation Counsel, in jaw, knocking out two teeth and lodging under tongue, so it was easily removed. Mr. Polk recovered in two weeks.—New York Times.

OLD ENGLISH HOME OF THE WASHINGTONS TO BE RESTORED.
SULGRAVE MANOR, PURCHASED RECENTLY BY BRITISH COMMITTEE FOR CELEBRATION OF CENTENARY OF PEACE
BETWEEN ENGLAND AND UNITED STATES, SOON TO BE PUT
IN SHAPE.

(Special Correspondence of the Monitor.)

LONDON—As announced in Monitor cable dispatches, the signing of the documents necessary to complete the purchase of Sulgrave Manor, the old English home of the Washingtons in Northampton-

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

shire, took place at the close of a meeting of the British committee for the celebration of the centenary of peace between England and the United States. The signatories were the Duke of Teck, Lord Shaw, chairman of the executive, and Lord Cowdray, chairman of the finance committee.

The completion of the purchase of the Manor has cost the committee the sum of £8400; this leaves over a considerable amount to be expended on the restoration and furnishing of Sulgrave, as well as on the provision of a permanent maintenance and endowment fund. Steps have already been taken to form an international committee of management of the property, which includes, besides the old house, nine acres of land adjoining.

The chairmanship of this committee has been accepted by the American ambassador on his own behalf and on that of his successors. The other members are Lord Grey, Lord Spencer, Lord Bryce, Lord Shaw, Lord Cowdray, Lord Weardale, Robert Donald, Harry E. Britain, Andrew Carnegie, John A. Stewart of New York, and W. B. Howland of New York.

At the close of the business dealing with the purchase of the Manor and its maintenance, a letter was read from Lord Bryce, conveying the gift of a copy of the only genuine portrait of Mary Ball Washington, mother of George Washington, from Mrs. Lanier Washington, New York. The picture will be framed and will eventually be placed at Sulgrave. At the close of the meeting an announcement was made to the effect that the sum of £50,000 was still necessary to complete the centenary fund for carrying out the British program for the celebration.

WORK OF UNKNOWN ARTIST FROM WHICH NAME OF ETCHER AND DATE HAVE DISAPPEARED, WHICH WAS PRESENTED TO CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY TODAY, ALONG WITH MANY OTHER RELICS.

(Copied from original by a staff photographer of the Chicago Daily News.)

Choosing Abraham Lincoln's birthday as being timely, James Edgar Brown, Chicago attorney and past president of the Illinois Society of the War of 1812, today presented to the Chicago Historical Society a number of historical documents and relics, chief among which is a rare etching of President Lincoln and Mrs. Lincoln. Experts and connoisseurs have examined the work, from which all trace of the name of the artist and the date have disappeared. All of them have rendered the verdict that the etching is an excellent piece of work.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

The relics were donated to the Illinois Society of the War of 1812 by Dr. C. B. Lyman of Rockford, Ill., being handed down by his forefathers. The collection contains a copy of the *Columbian Sentinel*, a Boston newspaper dated Oct. 8, 1793, containing the oration of Joseph Clarke, right worshipful master, P. T., on the laying of the southeast corner of the national capitol in the City of Washington on Sept. 13, 1793, and the Thanksgiving proclamation by John Hancock, then governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts and owner of the bold signature signed to the Declaration of Independence.

In the collection is also an illustrated campaign poster of the election of 1829, with the title, "Some Account of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson," describing the execution of American militiamen after the battle of New Orleans, the massacre of the Indians, the assault on Senator Benton and other political opponents, illustrated with wood cuts of caskets and a drawing of General Jackson in the act of stabbing an adversary. A \$5 bank note issued by the Bank of Detroit, 1806, on which the signature of Judge A. B. Woodward is affixed; a check signed by Lawrence Washington, United States senator in 1864 and close relative of President George Washington, who lived in and owned the Virginia estate, "Wakefield," the birthplace of the first President of the United States, dated March 16, 1848, for \$105, being the purchase price of a horse, and another, signed by his son, Col. John T. Washington, confederate officer, killed in 1864, dated Nov. 29, 1853, for the amount of \$28.87 for taxes, are among the collection. A book on "The Life of Gen. Francis Marion," written by Brig.-Gen. P. Horrp and L. M. Weems in 1839, is another article.

"I am directed by the officers and directors of the Society of the War of 1812 to turn these documents over to the Chicago Historical Society. I believe it is yet to be determined whether they are to be donated or loaned," was the statement given by Mr. Brown in a letter to Miss Caroline M. McIlvaine, librarian of the Chicago Historical Society.

Abraham Lincoln did not look like the clumsy statue created by George Gray Barnard. Although very tall, measuring 6 feet 4 inches, and large in every way, including his head, he was not an embarrassed or ungainly figure when moving in society or as a member of the legislature.

I knew Abraham Lincoln as early as 1847, when I was only 7 years old. He often attended social gatherings at our house in 4th Street, Springfield, meeting other prominent politicians like Lyman Trumbull, Stephen A. Douglas and James Shields. Miss Julia Jayne, afterward Mrs. Lyman Trumbull; Miss Todd, afterward Mrs. Lincoln, and other friends of my sister were invited to these parties. When

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

Mr. Lincoln was present he was always treated with a great deal of cordiality and proved to be in many cases the life of the company and in no way appeared out of place among the guests. Had Mr. Lincoln at this period of his life employed a good barber and an artistic tailor his large, strong body would not have seemed quite as awkward as it did in ready-made clothes, which in some cases did not fit.

As he advanced intellectually, becoming a distinguished orator, and his dominating mind gained greater control over his body, impressing his characteristics upon his features and personality, as is the case with most men of marked ability, much of his early original ungainliness disappeared.

I met Mr. Lincoln the last time in 1865, being presented to him by a congressman in his business office in the White House, and also at receptions about two months previous to his assassination. He was then usually dressed in a well fitting suit of broadcloth and he appeared when seated much like the painting by Healey. Robert T. Lincoln has this original painting in his library.

At this period, in the prime and vigor of manhood, when moving about the White House, Lincoln appeared no more out of place among prominent society people than Washington when he was President. Both were large, powerful men, physically and mentally; the latter being 6 feet 2 inches high, and had, it is stated, a very large hand. Lincoln's hands and feet were probably no larger than his. They were not out of proportion to his large body.

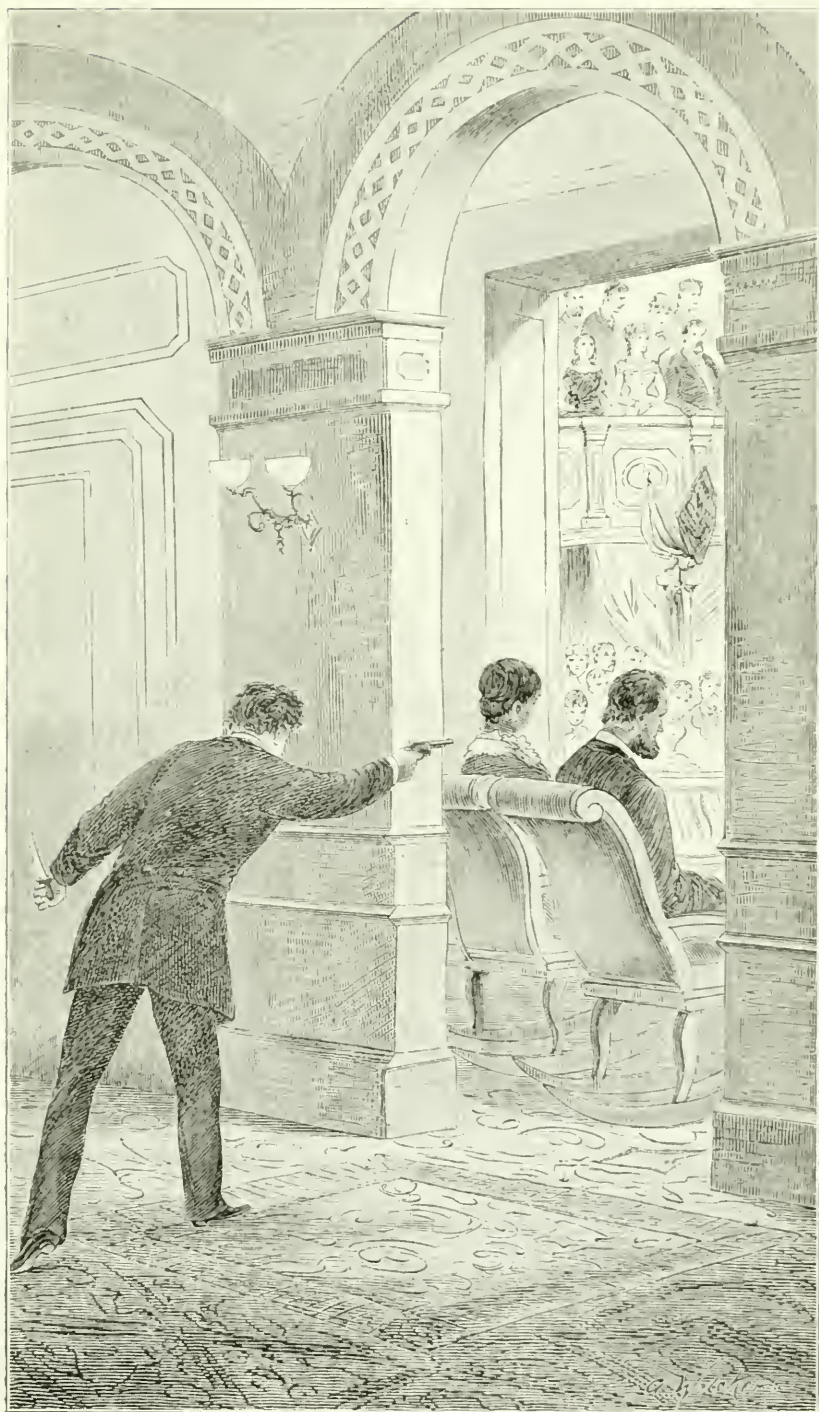
When a sculptor undertakes to produce a statue of a mature man he is not doing justice to his subject by copying prominently early defects in his immature and ungainly body, instead of portraying his finally well developed proportions. He also should strive to perpetuate the spiritual and intellectual characteristics, and in this case the benevolent appearance of his subject, as well as the physical representation. This is what Barnard has utterly failed to accomplish in his statue of Abraham Lincoln.

"DAD" RICHARDS, OF HAZARD, KY., WHO SAW LINCOLN SHOT
By W. A. Stanfill

An eyewitness to the greatest murder in modern history—the assassination of President Lincoln—lives in the mountain town of Hazard, Ky.

He is D. C. Richards, known to his mountain friends as "Dad," for many years a newspaper correspondent in Knoxville, Tenn., and now an accountant, who is, as he expresses it, "70 years young."

When he was 15 years old his father, at that time manager of a large rolling mills company in Pennsylvania, decided to take him to Washington. His father had taken an active interest in politics



THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN, AT FORD'S THEATRE,
WASHINGTON, APRIL 14, 1865

THE
PUBLIC L.
ASTOR, L. N. X
TILDEN F. D. N.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

and had stumped the iron and coal districts of Pennsylvania for President Lincoln in his second race, and was a great admirer of the President. He told his son that he wanted him to see Abraham Lincoln and that he could arrange for him to shake hands with the President. The following is Mr. Richard's story of what happened:

"On the morning of the 14th day of April, 1865, father and I entered the city of Washington. There was much excitement, men throwing up their hats, bands playing, soldiers marching, so that it was impossible to reach the ears of the proper officials to arrange to see the President on that day.

"The Civil War was just ended and the people of Washington were parading the streets with flags and buntings, and every building was decorated with stars and stripes. The President was busy in consultation with his Cabinet and officials, and we found that it was utterly impossible to see him on that day, and we decided to wait another day. We bought an afternoon paper and read that President Lincoln would be at Ford's Theatre occupying the President's box on that night. Father said to me, 'We will at least get to see the President at the theatre if we can get tickets.' It was the first time that either had ever been in a theatre and the price of the tickets bought through scalpers was \$2.50 each, a big sum in the eyes of father, who often spoke of it afterward.

"We reached Ford's Theatre long before the time for the doors to open, having to stand in line. Everybody, especially those who lived in Washington, was speaking of the new play to be produced for the first time, 'The American Cousin.' But the strangers and visitors like ourselves seemed more interested in expecting to obtain a glance at the President. After being shown to our seats about the center of the auditorium, it was not long before the orchestra began playing 'Hail to the Chief' and the whole audience rose to their feet as the President entered his box, walked to the front and bowed to the right and then to the left. I can see him now for it made a deep impression on my mind; he stood at the front of the box slightly stooped and holding the 'stovepipe' hat in his right hand while the audience cheered.

"As soon as the President had taken his seat, the curtain was raised and the play began. It went smoothly for at least fifteen minutes or more; the stage was cleared and there was a pause; it seemed that there was a break in the play, that some one had failed to come on or had missed his cue. It seemed to me that this war was a minute; but I doubt if it was that long. Then there was a pistol report; no one in the audience knew what it meant; and just at that time a man appeared on the center of the stage, having come from some place near the side of the stage; he reached to the floor, seemed

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

to stumble and then standing erect, with his right hand uplifted and holding a dagger in it, said something which I, of course, did not understand, but which was afterward learned to be 'Sic Semper Tyrannis' and then passed out to one side.

"It was all very strange to me, and I remember wondering if it was a part of the play; I remember that my father thought it was.

"It was nearly five minutes before the announcement was made that the President was shot, and then that vast crowd started as if it would go to the stage. Luckily they were stopped by the presence of mind of the leader of the orchestra, who started the music that caused a halt, and that gave some one a chance to inform the audience that the assassin had gone to the rear of the building and had mounted a horse and was on his way to the long bridge headed to the south. In the excitement we finally made our way back to our hotel.

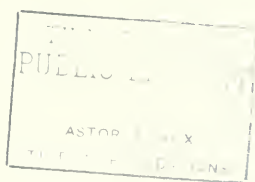
"I distinctly remember the morning of the 15th of April; there was an awful silence all around; it seemed as if the people walked on their tiptoes on the sidewalks; there was no sign of the gaiety of the day before; there was no sound of music, and the buildings so gaily decorated the day before were now being draped in mourning. The scene was one I shall never forget, and now as I think of that day when we left the capital it seems as though it was but a short time since the greatest tragedy in the history of our country was enacted.

"I want to make this further statement. Now after fifty-five years this land of ours, grown from a population of a little less than fifty million to over one hundred million, from a divided people to a united people, from a small and comparatively insignificant nation to one that stands at the head of all the nations of the earth, I see the hand of God in it all, and my hope and prayer is that in our present condition of unrest and dissatisfaction and discord, may the day soon come when there will be heard the voice of Him who stilled the storm of Galilee, saying in words strong and clear, 'Peace, be still.'"

Mr. Richards was born in Danville, Penn. His father, an experienced iron worker, came to the United States from Wales in 1842. The elder Richards became superintendent of a rolling mills company in the coal and iron district of Pennsylvania. In 1864 his father and uncles went to Tennessee and organized what now is known as the "Knoxville Iron Company."

Young Richards attended the public schools of Pennsylvania and was graduated from the Columbia Classical Institute. It was while he was attending this school that his father took him to Washington.

In his early life, Mr. Richards was a reporter, having worked on





GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, 1863

GEN. ROBT. E. LEE

various papers of Knoxville, Tenn., as well as having been correspondent for various newspapers, The Courier-Journal being one of the number.

AT LEAST TWO STILL LIVE WHO SAW LINCOLN SHOT

Of the 1,800 who were in Ford's Theatre fifty-five years ago when John Wilkes Booth fired the shot that shocked the world, at least two are still alive.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE

Gen. Robert E. Lee requires special notice when recording the war experiences of Abraham Lincoln. He would have greatly assisted Lincoln in the reconstruction of the Southern states had he lived to complete his second term as President.

On the 18th of April, Robert E. Lee had an interview with Francis E. Blair, who, with the knowledge of Lincoln and Cameron unofficially, but it is said authoritatively, offered him the command of the United States Army in the field. We have his own account of this interview written after the war and agreeing with Blair.

He said, "I never intimated to anyone that I desired the command of the U. S. Army, nor did I ever have a conversation with but one gentleman, the Honorable Francis E. Blair, on the subject, which was at his invitation, and as I understand, at the instance of President Lincoln. After listening to his remarks I declined the offer made me to take command of the army that was to be brought into the field, stating as candidly and conscientiously as I could, that I could take no part in an invasion of the southern states." (From a letter written to Reverdy Johnson F. Lee, Page 85, Life of General Lee, by Gamaliel Bradford, Jr.)

At the time of the secession of Virginia he was living at Arlington, an estate on the Potomac River, near Washington, D. C., which he acquired upon his marriage in January, 1851, with the daughter of Randolph Park Curtis, grandson of Martha Washington. His father and his wife's grandfather were connected with some of the most heroic characters prominent in the War of the Revolution.

As stated in my former book on Pages 216 and 217, "When Gen. Robert E. Lee assumed the presidency of Washington College,

GEN. ROBT. E. LEE

October, 1865, that position he occupied until October, 1870, he said: "I think it the duty of every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony, and in no way to oppose the policy of the state or government directed to that object."

To the Confederate government of Virginia, he said: "The duty of citizens appears to me too plain to admit of doubt. All should unite in honest effort to obliterate the effects of war, and to restore the blessings of peace. They should remain if possible in the country; promote harmony and good feeling; qualify themselves to vote, and elect to the state and legislature wise and patriotic men, who will devote their abilities to the healing of all dissensions. I have invariably recommended this course since the cessation of hostilities and have endeavored to practice it myself."

The feeling among really thinking people of the South is that had Lincoln lived he would have been the truest and most valuable friend of the South, preventing the horrors of the period of reconstruction which were brought about by those who were after graft and privileges. This was a source of great loss and hardship to the Southern people and a disgrace to the Lincoln Republican party. Thaddeus Stevens, known as the Commoner, and in absolute control of the junker faction of his party in the House of Representatives, and an inveterate foe of the South, hated Lincoln for that which the South loved him, which was his desire to help the South and prevent the terrible misfortunes inflicted during the reconstruction period.

Thaddeus Stevens and his junker associates were determined that the South should be treated as conquered territory, as this would enable them an opportunity of exploiting the secession states and reap a great harvest of spoils from the so-called conquered people.

The war on the part of loyal unionists was a war for principle—to prevent the dismemberment of the United States and the spread of slavery. The carpet-baggers abandoned the claim of principle, justice or humanity, and like jackals and vultures feeding upon the dead after the battle, sought only to satisfy their avarice and greed.

After many years of unnecessary hardship resulting from this cruel policy, the Southern people have regained their normal and prosperous condition and have proven themselves patriotic and loyal citizens of the Union.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

COST OF REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR.

"When we compare the area of the Revolution," as stated by Charles Frances Adams (see page 116 Studies-Military and Diplomatic) "with the area covered by the Civil War, we will be surprised at the great magnitude of the latter when compared with the former. The great responsibility which rested upon Lincoln, was not equalled in many respects by that which fell to the lot of Washington." With the Canadian boundary and Lake Champlain for the limit at the North, the area of the Revolution extends to Chesapeake Bay on the South,—a distance of approximately four hundred and fifty miles. Bordering on the ocean, this region was almost everywhere vulnerable by water, while its interior depth at no point exceeded two hundred and fifty miles, and for all practical purposes was limited to one hundred miles; Oswego on Lake Ontario being the point farthest from New York (250 miles) on the northwest, and Reading the point farthest westward (100 miles) from the Jersey coast.

New York was practically at the strategic center—that is, where movement was concerned; it was about equi-distant from Albany and Fort Edward at one extreme, and from the capes of the Delaware and the headwaters of Chesapeake Bay on the other. Philadelphia was practically one hundred miles from New York, and Albany was one hundred and fifty miles from it.

Charles Frances Adams states that Washington conducted active operations in five campaigns, (1) that of 1775-1776, before Boston; (2) that of 1776 in New York and New Jersey; (3) that of 1777, about Philadelphia; (4) of 1778, culminating at Mammouth Court House; and (5) of 1780, and finally, that closing at Yorktown.

The national debt caused by the Revolutionary War was:

Foreign, \$12,000,000, mostly due France, Holland and Spain.

Domestic, \$42,000,000.

The debt incurred by the several states: \$25,000,000.

Through Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, this debt of \$79,000,000 was funded by the United States government.

The amount spent by Washington from the commencement of the war until December 13, 1783, which he then adjusted with the Treasury, was 14,500 pounds sterling money. This was actually expended out of his personal fortune, and was refunded to him, but he accepted no pay for his services, which lasted for eight years.

COST OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION.

According to John J. Knox's United States notes, referred to by Nicolay and Hay in their History of Abraham Lincoln, the cost of

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN

conducting the war, after it was fully inaugurated, was scarcely at any time less than \$30,000,000 a month. At many times, it far exceeded this amount. Sometimes it was not less than \$90,000,000 a month; and the average expense of the war, from its inception to its conclusion, may be said to have been about \$2,000,000 a day. The public debt reached the maximum on Aug. 31, 1865, on which day it amounted to \$2,840,907,626.56.

It might be well to consider what this money could have accomplished for the South; if Lincoln's proposition had been accepted, it would have much more than paid for the price of the slaves. The Southern States, with money, could have redeemed most of the swamp lands, built a deep waterway from the gulf to the lake and improved many of their harbors. Besides this, millions of valuable improvements would have been saved in the South which were destroyed in the war.

Messrs. Nicolay and Hay, in their valuable History of Abraham Lincoln, also state: That the carnage and waste of the war had surpassed the darkest forebodings, the most reckless prophesies on Union side 2,200,000 men had enlisted, on the Confederate side, about 1,100,000. Of these, 110,000 Union soldiers were killed or mortally wounded in battle; a quarter of a million died of other causes. The total of deaths by the war on the Northern side amounted to 360,282; the number of Confederate dead cannot be accurately estimated; it ranges between 250,000 to 300,000. The expenses of the war to the Union, over and above the ordinary expenses of the government, were about \$3,250,000,000; to the confederacy, less than half that amount, about \$1,500,000,000. (See volume 10, page 339.)

The expense of the National Government and the several states amounted to \$6,165,237,000; the total cost of the war to the North and South, according to David N. Wile, was \$8,165,237,000.

Confederate authorities state that the South never had over 200,000 men in the aggregate in arms, which were opposed by some 2,800,000 enlisted at different times in the Union army; 475,000 were from secession states, 135,000 from border states. There were 1,000,000 men on either side at the close of the war when Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant, and Joseph E. Johnson surrendered to Sherman.

The United States army increased from 17,000 in 1860, to 1,000,000 men. Quotas charged against the state under calls made by the President four years from April 15, 1861, to April 14, 1864, are 7,758,049 being three months to three years.

The aggregate number of men credited on the several calls and put into service in the army and navy and marine corps was 2,690,401. Efficiency would have been filled if the war had not closed when it did. (History of Lincoln, by Hay and Nickolay.)

COST OF WORLD WAR

By the middle of November, 1865, 800,000 had been mustered out. One million men in army in May 1, 1865, were reduced to 65,000.

This refers to the Union forces; on the other side, it is stated in a work entitled "The South," a publication giving the history of the Confederate Army, Alabama, minimum 93,000 (Vol. 2, p. 209). Arkansas, 50,000 (see Vol. 3, p. 308). Mississippi, 70,000 (Vol. 2, p. 422). North Carolina, 120,000 (Vol. 1, p. 485). South Carolina, 75,000 (see Vol. 2, p. 86). Tennessee, 115,000 (see Vol. 2, p. 517). Texas, 50,000 (see Vol. 3, p. 504). Virginia, 125,000 (Vol. 1, p. 121). Total, 745,000. From other sources: Georgia, 120,000; Louisiana, 55,000; Florida, 15,000. Total, 190,000.

Kentucky (Vol. 1, p. 295), 30,000; Maryland (Vol. 1, p. 205), 20,000; Missouri (Vol. 9, p. 236), 50,000; West Virginia (Vol. 1, p. 388), 7,000.

THE COST OF WORLD WAR.

COST OF WAR IN MONEY TO APRIL, 1919, WAS \$21,800,000,000 TO
UNITED STATES, AND IN LIVES—

	Men in Arms	Lives Lost	Total Casualties
United States.....	3,764,700	58,478	262,723
British Empire.....	7,500,000	713,092	3,049,991
France	6,000,000	1,385,300	4,000,000
Italy	5,000,000	460,000	2,000,000
Belgium	350,000	50,000	300,000
Serbia	300,000	100,000	200,000
Roumania	600,000	100,000	300,000
Russia	14,000,000	3,500,000	5,000,000
Armenia		300,000	
Germany	11,000,000	1,580,000	4,000,000
Austria	7,500,000	2,000,000	4,500,000
Turkey	1,500,000	250,000	750,000
Bulgaria	1,000,000	50,000	200,000
Totals.....	58,514,700	10,546,870	24,562,714

Figures unofficial, except for United States, British Empire, France and Italy.

No figures available for Greece, Japan, Portugal. British figures include Navy.

1,350,000 GERMANS KILLED IN WAR.

GENEVA, June 24.—(By Associated Press.)—Recent statistics published in Germany on that country's war losses state that 1,350,000 men were killed. There are today 520,000 war widows, 1,130,000 war orphans and 500,000 maimed or consumptives supported mostly by charity.

"And know that Freedom's not a gift
That tarries long in hands of cowards."

ITALIAN HEROES REACH TOKYO

CHAPTER V

ITALIAN HEROES REACH TOKYO

(From the Herald of Asia)

(The following is a full report of the speech delivered by Comm. Z. H. Zolpicelli, formerly Italian Consul-General at Canton, at the reception held at Hibiya Park on June 6 in honor of the Italian airmen, Lieutenant Masiero, Lieutenant Ferrarin and their mechanics. The speech was interpreted by Professor Torao Taketomo of the Keio University and was decidedly a great success.—Ed.)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

You have been waiting a year to hear d'Annunzio in Tokyo, but you know he cannot come.

As a son of Magna Graecia, like d'Annunzio, I rise to give a brief explanation of the Rome-Tokyo raid. I am sure that my words uttered here on the shores of the Pacific will be endorsed by the poet on the shores of the Adriatic who, like a vestal of old, is keeping alive the sacred fire of Rome.

I have waited thirty-eight years for this hour and I speak in the fullness of time. The descendants of the Roman legionaries have come to meet the samurai of Japan.

There are, alas, two empty places; the bodies are in Persia, but the souls of Gordesco and Grassi are here with us at this hour, and we must speak as if they heard us. On the breast of Gordesco a letter was found; it was from our King to your Emperor. Faithful unto the last!

I have heard that you intend to consecrate two memorials to them in Japan. Inscribe on them these words:

".....maneat nostros ea cura nepotes."

(Let this purpose be entrusted to our descendants.)

Virgil says these words were spoken 3,000 years ago in Albania, to seal the covenant between two peoples. Let those words ever remind the people of Japan that those two young lives were sacrificed to cement the alliance of our two nations.

The call of the East has been felt in Italy since the dawn of her history as the call of destiny. The fatalism of historical laws overpowers rulers and peoples and brushes aside the puny efforts of man. Rome that destroyed Carthage and Jerusalem has been for nearly 2,000 years the centre of a Semitic religion.

Two thousand years ago, after having conquered the West, eagles of Rome flew to Mesopotamia. Then in the hour of triumph Virgil, with the prophetic insight of the poet, saw the true mission of our race. Possessed by the spirit of prophecy, unconscious of the full meaning of his own words, he uttered the famous lines:

"Jam redit et virgo, redeunt saturnia regna;

"Jam nova progenies coelo demittitur alto."

(Now the Virgin comes, the Golden Age returns;

ITALIAN HEROES REACH TOKYO

Now a new generation of men descends from high Heaven.)

Even then he saw that the future mission of Rome was to bring the moral and religious civilization of Asia to barbarous Europe.

A few years passed and the Apostles of Jesus came to Rome. It was not hazard which sent the fishermen of Galilee to the eternal city. They found there the faculty of organization and the spirit of leadership of our race which enabled them to spread all over the world the worship of two Asiatics. Now all Europe and America worship the Son of Man and more than half the Blessed amongst women.

When you were accomplishing your Imperial Restoration, the Rome of the Caesars and of the Pontiffs started on a new mission which we hoped would not be unworthy of the past. Now, after having won the greatest victory in European history, the new eagles of Rome have flown to Tokyo. The latest poet of Italy, d'Annunzio, with the prophetic inspiration of Virgil, has sent here our aviators to bear the message of Asia, for the sun of Asia rises in Japan!

What are the good tidings they must bring back? They must take back the sublime virtues and high ideals of Asia to Europe ruined by the war. They are the pioneers of our future mission to spread the spiritual culture of Asia all over the world.

We drink a toast to Asia which shall be the hymn of Asia, and its people. It shall be drunk in water, the drink of Buddha and Mahomet, the drink which America, the youngest of the Goddesses, the new Hebe with the nectar, has restored to the welfare of mankind.

We raise our voices here to the Spirit of Asia, the mighty land and its mighty children, to the great mother, Asia—our common mother.

The Spirit of Asia is over there in the North where the swelling Spring currents of the Obi and Lena break the ice with a roar of thunder as they rush to the Arctic Ocean; it is in the South where the waves break in roaring surf on the shores of Ceylon; in the East in the whirl of the typhoon; in the West it sweeps over Arabian deserts in the simooon. It reigns on the silent snows of the Himalayas; it rolls the waters of the Yangtze and shapes the beauty of Fuji.

It inspires the great works of her children, the dazzling beauty of the Taj Mahal and the peaceful serenity of the Kamakura Buddha.

The Spirit of Asia raises to Heaven the thoughts of her children; and mankind is illuminated by the Vedas, the Sutras of Buddha, the words of Confucius, the Bible, the Ramayana, the Gospels, the Koran, and the poem of Rizal the Philippine martyr, whose soul was all sweetness the morning he was unjustly shot.

PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN CHINA

The Spirit of Asia shines in the bright eyes of your dark haired women, enriching them with love and virtue. We find it in the mother of Moses; in Ruth when she said "Thy people shall be my people, thy God shall be my God"; in Sita; in the mother of Mencius: in Hung Fu Nu leaving all when she had found her hero; in Lo Ch'ang Kung Chu recovering her lost husband with the broken mirror; in Terute Hime, the woman of love and sorrow; we find it in the Marys under the cross of the Son of Man forsaken by all. It is the Spirit of Asia manifested in her great children, Rama and Krishna, Moses who heard the one God in burning bush, Rustem the Persian hero, Ali the Lion of God, Yoshitsune the Bayard of Japan, Yao Fei the Chinese patriot, Mahomet the prophet of Allah, Sakhyamuni attaining Buddahood under the sacred tree, and Jesus in his long agony on the cross praying for his enemies.

It is these holy teachings and sublime examples which must be evoked for the betterment of mankind; and here in Japan we can find them still fresh in the lessons of recent times. In Port Arthur the first monument erected by the Japanese was to their dead enemies, the Russians, because they had died fighting for their own country.

Therefore Banzai to Asia, Banzai to Japan is the cry of our aviators; Alala!

PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN CHINA

From the Herald of Asia

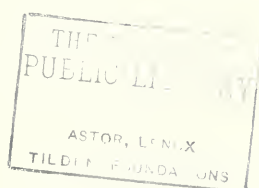
On June 3 a manifesto was issued in the names of the four leaders of the South, including Tang Shaoyi and Sun Yatsen. It was expected that it would mark an epoch in the peace negotiations between North and South and remove the deadlock reached. True to this general expectation, the peace situation has begun to take a very hopeful turn. It is now reported that the manifesto has resulted in a frequent exchange of notes and calls between Wang Itang, chief northern delegate, and Tang Shaoyi, chief southern delegate. It is further reported that three fundamental peace terms have been agreed upon. In the opinion of the Osaka Mainichi, however, it is problematical whether this new peace movement is in accordance with the requirements of the times or whether it is a party move. But it is certain, says the Osaka Mainichi, that the new peace agitation is one of the important byproducts of the progress of the world.

The peace negotiations now going on are said to be based upon the following terms:

1. That the cancellation of secret treaties between China and Japan should not be included in the peace terms, since Tuan Chijui and his followers are stoutly opposed to it.



LU YUNG TING, Inspector General of Provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi;
TSEN-CHUN-HSUAN, Head of the Military Government of South China;
COMM. Z. VOLPICELLI, Consul General for Italy in South China.



PROSPECTS OF PEACE IN CHINA

2. That both the old and new parliament should be abolished at one and the same time.

3. That Tang Shaoyi should be appointed Inspecting Commissioner for the three provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan, and Kueichow, while Ku Hanmin should be appointed Inspecting Commissioner for Kwantung.

Now that disputes between North and South have raged so long, it may be safe to imagine that both northerners and southerners, leaders and the masses alike, are yearning after peace, realizing as they do how foolish it is to keep on quarreling for quarrels' sake.

In this connection, however, it must be noted that sections of the militarists are more disposed again to war than to dilatory discussion. Tuan Chijui and followers are said to be requesting the President to promulgate a mandate for dispatching an expeditionary force against the South. Again, relations between Yunnan and Kwangsi as well as those between Szechuan and Yunnan may be seen in this light.

In other words, discussion is likely to be replaced by force again. However, should war break out again, there would be no hope for early settlement of the discord between North and South. This is fully known to the militarists themselves, and is the main reason why the local people can still enjoy peace in spite of the ominous war clouds gathering in Szechuan and Hunan.

As for the Tuchuns, their exclusive concern is to safeguard their position. They have no regard for the interests of the state, another powerful obstacle to the return of peace.

What is worse, the peace delegates of North and South have no great influence in the political situation. Wang Itang is the representative of the Tuan faction and the Anfu Club, but not of the entire North, while Tang Shaoyi is the representative of the old Kuomintang party, but not of the entire South.

The opposition of the Chihli faction to the Tuan clique has led to the withdrawal of General Wu Peifu from Hunan. The ascendancy of the Chihli faction would mean a corresponding decrease in the influence of the Tuan clique and the Anfu Club. In consequence, the disaffection between the Chihli and the Tuan Factions cannot fail to affect the mission of Wang Itang seriously. On the other hand Tang Shaoyi, the southern peace delegate, has begun to quarrel with the Canton Provisional Government, the latter relieving him of his post and appointing Weh Tsunyao as his successor. Such being the case, it is not too much to say that the present peace negotiations are being conducted by the Tuan faction in the North and by the old Kuomintang party in the South.

It is true that there are clashes between the Tuan and the

POLAND AND HER RULER

Chihli factions from time to time in the North, but on the whole the northern political situation is maintaining a semblance of solidarity. But now there is no central influence in the South. General Tang Chichao is in a quarrel with General Lu Yingting, while the old Kuomintang clique is defined by another faction.

Sun Yatsen, Tang Shaoyi, and two leaders of the South oppose the authority of the Canton Provisional Government in the recent manifesto, but the Canton Provisional Government asserts its authority and declares their manifesto null and void.

In short, there is now no central influence in the South, a fact which bespeaks no success for the present peace negotiations. therefore, The Osaka Mainichi expresses misgivings in conclusion that not only may the peace negotiations fail but the political situation in China, which is in a deadlock, may be further aggravated, pointing to a reported coming of Marshal Tuan Chijui as a signal of another upheaval in China.

POLAND AND HER RULER

From the September Review of Reviews

The article by "Liber" in the *Correspondant* (Paris) is a biographical and psychological study, but to an American reader will be quite as helpful for its curt but illuminating allusions to the recent history of Poland, which is just now in the very center of the limelight; far more so, indeed, than the writer could have foreseen.

The "Partition of Poland," finally completed in 1796, is regarded by present-day French writers as most of all a conspiracy to destroy the chief eastward outpost of political liberalism, while the all but simultaneous downfall of the three absolutist houses, Romanoff, Hohenzollern, and Hapsburg, in the final throes of our World War, is the Nemesis of that crime. Russia had been the chief culprit and had profited most. While Galicia has been fairly contented under the milder Austrian rule, and the spirit of the Prussianized Poles seemed effectively subdued, Russian Poland has been always the chief center of radical conspiracy against Petrograd—as we now call it.

Born of noble Lithuanian stock in 1868, bred on a great hereditary estate of more than thirty square miles, near Vilna, Josef Pilsudski, while a youth at the university, saw this inheritance lost to his family through the systematic injustice of a Russian governor. His elder brother, Stanislas, for a trifling offense was sent to spend fifteen years in lonely exile on the Pacific island of Saghalien, just seized by the Japanese. So young Josef, with all his aristocratic pride and capacity for fearless leadership, was forced into the life of an extreme revolutionary socialist, a dizzy round of "secret gatherings, plots, risings, arrests, cross-questionings, Siberian exile, escapes," and again the same desperate round. Often he sat in the dim light where "ten were present, nine at least enthusiastic and devoted as apostles—and

POLAND AND HER RULER

perchance one spy of the police, though no one save himself knows which." It was a life infinitely more fascinating than any safer career for him whose audacious courage, secretiveness, absolute self-dependence were tempered in such a furnace.

Without any military training, against the ridicule, even, of his comrades, and with certain death impending in case of discovery, Pilsudski, through a series of years, succeeded in organizing and drilling a secret Polish army of several hundred officers and ten thousand men, ready to take the field as quickly as the Lexington and Concord minutemen. These became the nucleus of a Polish national army that, from its first squad of fourteen men drilled by him personally to the present moment, has never known or listened to any other "Commandant." This all but single-handed feat shows the same prophetic faith as when the poet Krasinski, in 1850, wrote: "We shall have our Day: if not thanks to the righteous ones, (i. e., England and France) then thanks to the devils themselves."

In the summer of 1914 Josef, at least, had no moment of hesitation or doubt. It was Russia that held three-fourths of his distracted fatherland that had done her worst to destroy the intellect, the conscience, the very speech of Poland. No doubt this instant alignment of himself with Prussia, and so against the "righteous ones," proves him far more patriot and soldier than unerring politician. But he was quickly and rudely disillusioned.

When the mockery of an "independent Poland" became evident to all, when the Central Powers attempted to absorb the whole military manhood of Poland into their own armies, Pilsudski protested, argued, then defiantly and stubbornly refused—and promptly found himself a prisoner in the fortress of Magdeburg, where he remained until after the war was over and all the Emperors dethroned.

Then, led by his veterans, the mobs of Warsaw and elsewhere disarmed and drove out the German garrisons. But there was no political organization to govern the long-prostrate land. The "Regency" of three, a Prince, an Archbishop, and a makeweight, had been figure-heads only, under Prussian dictation. They called a National Convention, which was chosen on so democratic a basis that it had an unworkable majority of illiterate peasants and artisans. It was to sit just long enough to adopt a constitution and order elections for a real parliament. It is sitting, still, though in a year and a half it has not had intelligent energy enough to pass a single law for the relief even of the disheartened tillers of the soil. It ordained itself "all-powerful," by an act of pure usurpation, and ordered the Regency to install "responsible ministers." The Prince, outlasting his two junior colleagues in power, himself obtained, from the no less provisional socialist government in Berlin, the release of Pilsudski, and, on the

POLAND AND HER RULER

*Commandant's" arrival in Warsaw on Nov. 10, 1918, the Prince promptly handed over to him his precarious semi-royal position, "and thereupon with perfect dignity effaced himself."

And this, according to the well-informed "Liber," is all the government Poland has today. The Commandant, an unconstitutional king in reality, has conquered, as commander-in-chief in the field, nearly as much new territory as the Allies assigned to Poland proper, calls and dismisses ministers, and may at any time, with or without the empty form of a plebiscite, imitate the coup d'etat of Napoleon the Less, or Cromwell's expulsion of the Rump Parliament, and create such machinery as he thinks workable. It was as prime minister under this popular idol, and autocratic uncrowned monarch, that Paderewski made his brief excursion into statesmanship. A close friendship between the two great patriots appears to have survived that experience. Today this "man on horseback" is naturally the most interesting and problematic of figures in the grim kaleidoscope of European politics.

"Liber's" favorite name for him is "The Sphinx." "A figure above middle height, somewhat bowed earthward already at fifty-two, but appearing erect and even taller on the rostrum or in the saddle, his hair still black, thick, and wiry, eyes deep-set, piercing, unfathomable under shaggy brows." He makes instant and devoted friends of whoever approach him, "chats freely of his general desires, hopes, fears, his resources, and the obstacles in his way—but no man hears what he intends to do next." His generals are peasants or princes, socialists or conservatives, all alike devoted to the Commandant; and the whole manhood of Poland, from striplings to greybeards, hungry, shivering, often ill-armed, are in the field and at his command today."

The essayist has made at least intelligible the quotation placed approvingly on his first page in which a veteran diplomatist, after characterizing, from intimate personal knowledge, three unnamed figures that resemble Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Mr. Wilson, declares that the leader of the Poles combines and betters the qualities of them all. The entire paper deserves careful, even if independent and discriminating, perusal.

Editor, New Constitutional Governments, Chicago:

I have read Liber's article on "Poland and Its Ruler," reprinted in the "Review of Reviews" and I feel it might be proper, both in the interest of the much misused renown of Poland and to the interest of anyone looking for authentic information on the "making of the nations," to challenge some of the facts as quoted by the French writer, who—no wonder—is affected by the French way of viewing the Polish developments.

POLAND AND HER RULER

It is a mistake to say that Joseph Pilsudski is a self-appointed chief and that the Diet, chosen on so democratic a basis that it had an unworkable majority of illiterate peasants, has not had intelligent energy enough to pass a single law for the relief even of the disheartened tillers of soil.

As a matter of fact Joseph Pilsudski took his powers from the Regency, at that time the only legitimate and de facto government, convoked an assembly elected through a direct, universal, secret and proportionate vote of all adults both male and female, irrespective of language, faith, social standing, etc., and then resigned. Re-elected as Chief of the State by the unanimous will of that assembly he assumed his office again and is now holding it by their authority. The cabinet appointed by Pilsudski is responsible before the Diet.

That Diet has not one single illiterate man or woman amidst the representatives. Besides a very heavy task of organizing the entire complex governmental structure of a new country of thirty millions the Diet passed many important laws, especially regarding the "disheartened tillers of the soil" the agrarian reform (July 10, 1919), restricting land ownership to those persons who perform farming personally and confining the maximum of owned land.

Pilsudski is not a "sphinx." He is considered in Poland as the embodiment of the modern Polish political mind. Somebody said in Versailles, that "Pilsudski was the first man to outwit the German diplomacy." This explains his stand toward Prussia in 1914. Pilsudski does not know and will not know any service but that for the sake of Poland.

Yours truly,

Chicago, Nov. 1, 1920.

EARNEST L. LILIEN.

In connection with the two conflicting views as just quoted it is interesting to hear a statement made by the Polish Consul General Z. Nowicki of Chicago.

"Led by his veterans, the mobs of Warsaw and elsewhere disarmed and drove out the German garrisons. The Regency of three, a Prince, an Archbishop, and a makeweight, had been figureheads only, under Prussian dictation." As this state of affairs met with a general disapproval and evergrowing resentment on the part of all Polish political parties, who demanded a more independent policy, the German provisional socialist government in Berlin felt compelled to release Pilsudski at a categorical request by that same Regency, which saw in Pilsudski at that time the only man, being able to concentrate the various political parties on a common national program.

Pilsudski took the powers of the Regency in his hands—declaring at the same time solemnly to accept it merely in order to bring about a national assembly. Only three months later the Diet, elected upon the broadest democratic basis by the entire adult population irrespec-

POLAND AND HER RULER

tive of sex, race, creed, social standing, gathered in Warsaw and accepted the renunciation of Pilsudski only to invest him with the same power by an unanimous vote.

Now this Diet, although composed to a considerable part of peasants—of course the most prominent among them—has proved to be very efficient in building up the whole complex governmental structure and organizing fully the entire public life of a country from the village, county, district, to the very top, on the same democratic basis of self-administration. Besides that the Diet had to pass so many social laws, among which one should be pointed out on account of its tendency and economical importance: the agrarian reform, carried by the Diet on July 10, 1919. This law acknowledges land-ownership only to persons who perform farming personally and fixes the maximum of owned land to from 60 to 180 acres according to the quality of land and its distance from the centers.

This enormous task of organization could not but delay the creation of a constitution for the country. Nevertheless it is governed already now in accordance with the most liberal traditions of Poland, with the application of the broadest citizen rights, by a cabinet of ministers appointed by the Chief of the State in constant touch and mutual agreement of the Diet to which the ministers are responsible."

Vienna, October 21 (Via London, October 22.)—Jugo Slavia is declared to be a constitutional, hereditary monarchy with the Kara-georgiewitch family the reigning dynasty.

According to reports reaching here from Belgrade, this decision was taken yesterday at the ministerial council held there. The council also decided the royal arms shall be a double-headed white eagle with the arms of Croatia and Slovenia on its breast, while the National flag shall be blue, white and red.

The council expressed itself in favor of a unified state with single legislative parliament, but advocated broadly based, non-legislative, local autonomy throughout the monarchy.

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER VI

THE WORLD EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND ITS IMPERIALISTIC GOVERNMENT

It has taken several centuries to bring Great Britain, by a process of evolution, out of a state of subjection to an absolute monarchy, into a system of mixed, or limited monarchy, under a constitutional government, as it is now under King George V., but which retains its imperialistic policy.

The British Empire does not claim to have a written constitution but still, as we will show, a great deal has been committed to writing in well-known acts of Parliament, and charters.

The political power is vested in two chambers, the House of Lords containing the peers, and the House of Commons, composed of deputies representing the people, not the peers. In the latter, originate all bills for raising money, or expending the same. The crown must have the support of the House of Commons.

Before reaching its present condition the British government went through a period of many changes. The Revolution of 1688-1689 was signalized by putting into written form no inconsiderable portion of the English constitution as it then existed. During the time of Cromwell, the following resolution was adopted in parliament: "The people are under God, the original of all just power; and the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power of this nation."

May 16, 1640, Kingship and the House of Lords having been abolished as "equally useless and dangerous," Parliament, to complete the work of transformation, proclaimed the Commonwealth, or Republic, and on the great seal was inscribed the legion "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored."

In 1654, there was put into operation the Constitution, the earliest among written constitutions in modern Europe, known as the "Instrument of Government." (See Gardener, Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 405-417; Adams and Stevens, Select Documents 407-411; Frederick Austin Ogg's Governments of Europe.)

This constitution provided for a life protector, and a council of thirteen to twenty-one members as a legislative organ, an unicameral parliament of 450 members. Cromwell accepted the office of Protector. (See J. A. R. Marriott, Second Chamber and Deductive Study Political Science, Oxford (1910) Chap. 3.)

"In 1657 Cromwell refused to assume the title of King, but accepted a new constitution; the humble petition and advice which re-established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Commons and the other house."

The remnant of the Commons abolished monarchy and the

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

House of Lords and set up a republic under the name of the Commonwealth 1649. Charles I was executed January 1, 1649.

The constitution in accordance with which Charles the Second and James the Second, 1660-1689, were expected to govern, was that which had been set up during preceding centuries, amended by the important changes affected by the Long Parliament in 1641.

May 26, 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act was guaranteed. (Stubbs *Select Charters*, page 517.)

In 1688, William of Orange, the Stadtholder of Holland, husband of Mary, daughter of James the Second, who fled to France, succeeded the former king. A convention parliament declared the throne vacant, and drew up the first Declaration of Rights, the third great document in the Bible of English liberties, and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns on condition of their consenting to the Declaration. Thus a supremacy of parliament over the king was once more established.

The new sovereign, like the old Lancastrians, had only a parliamentary title to the throne. The next regular parliament turned this document into the "Bill of Rights." This became a part of the written Constitution of England and the royal tenure became vested in the will of the people." (Stubbs *Eng. Constitution*, page 507.)

By an act of Parliament, the veto power of the House of Lords was taken away.

"Government" by the Ministry became an established part of the English Constitution. Parliament could remove the ministry. In its essence, therefore, the cabinet is an informal but permanent caucus of the parliamentary chiefs of the party in power, and it must be remembered that the chiefs of the party are all in parliament. Its object is to receive the cohesion without which the party cannot retain a majority in the House of Commons and remain in power. The machinery is one of wheels within wheels. The outside ring consisting of the party that has the majority in the House of Commons; the next ring being the ministry, which contains the men who are most active with the party; and smallest of all being the cabinet containing the real leadership. By this means is secured that unity of party action which depends upon placing the direct power in the hands of a body small enough to agree, and influential enough to control." (A. Lawrence Lowell, *Governments of England*.)

"In England there is, in fact, only one conclusive means of expressing the popular will—that of an election to the House of Commons; and in ordinary cases there is only one body that has power to interpret that expression. The Cabinet placed in office by the House so elected." A. Lawrence Lowell, quoting Professor Dicey, says:

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

"The royal assent is given to all bills passed by the House of Commons. The privilege of the crown to veto an act of parliament is practically obsolete, yet the right remains."

"It is the rule under the English constitution, that the king must act on the advice of his ministers, and they must resign, or dissolve parliament, when they lose the confidence of the majority of the House of Commons."

Professor Frederick Austin Ogg is his "Government of Europe," says: "During the Eighteenth Century era of royal weakness, the cabinet acquired a measure of independence by which it was enabled to become, for all practical purposes, the ruling authority of the realm; and, under the limitation of strict accountability to the House of Commons, it fulfills substantially that function today. Its members, as will appear, are at the same time the heads of the principal executive departments, the leaders in the legislative chambers, and the authors of very nearly the whole of governmental policy and conduct." He refers to "The Development of Cabinet Government in England," by M. T. Blauvelt (New York, 1902, chapter 1-8); and E. Jenks, "Parliamentary England. The Evolution of Cabinet System." (New York, 1903.)

"The executive government of Great Britain and Ireland is vested nominally in the crown, but practically in a Committee of Ministers, commonly called the Cabinet, whose existence is dependent on the possession of a majority in the House of Commons. An Act to establish a separate Parliament in Ireland, with an executive responsible to it, was passed in 1914, but its operation has been postponed pending the termination of the European War.

The First Lord of the Treasury is, as a rule, the Chief of the Ministry, and on his recommendation his colleagues are appointed. He dispenses the greater portion of the patronage of the Crown.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919

An Act to make further provision with respect to the Government of India (December 23, 1919).

PART I

Whereas, it is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the empire:

And whereas, progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken:

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

And whereas, the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples:

And whereas, the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility:

And whereas, concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

PART II

Subject to the provisions of this Act, the Indian legislature shall consist of the Governor-General and two chambers, namely, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Except as otherwise provided by or under this Act, a Bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by the Indian legislature unless it has been agreed to by both chambers, either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both chambers.

COUNCIL OF STATE

1. The Council of State shall consist of not more than sixty members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act, of whom not more than twenty shall be official members.

2. The Governor-General shall have power to appoint, from among the members of the Council of State, a president and other persons to preside in such circumstances as he may direct.

3. The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Council of State, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1. The Legislative Assembly shall consist of members nominated or elected in accordance with rules made under the principal Act.

2. The total number of members of the Legislative Assembly shall be one hundred and forty. The number of non-elected members shall be forty, of whom twenty-six shall be official members. The number of elected members shall be one hundred:

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Provided that rules made under the principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of the Legislative Assembly as fixed by this section, and may vary the proportion which the classes of members bear one to another, so, however, that at least five-sevenths of the members of the Legislative Assembly shall be elected members, and at least one-third of the other members shall be non-official members.

3. The Governor-General shall have the right of addressing the Legislative Assembly, and may for that purpose require the attendance of its members.

PRESIDENT OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

1. There shall be a president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall, until the expiration of four years from the first meeting thereof, be a person appointed by the Governor-General, and shall thereafter be a member of the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General:

Provided that, if at the expiration of such period of four years the Assembly is in session, the president then in office shall continue in office until the end of the current session, and the first election of a president shall take place at the commencement of the ensuing session.

2. There shall be a deputy-president of the Legislative Assembly, who shall preside at meetings of the Assembly in the absence of the president, and who shall be a member of the Assembly elected by the Assembly and approved by the Governor-General.

3. The appointed president shall hold office until the date of the election of a president under this section, but he may resign his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor-General, or may be removed from office by order of the Governor-General, and any vacancy occurring before the expiration of his term of office shall be filled by a similar appointment for the remainder of such term.

4. An elected president and a deputy-president shall cease to hold office if they cease to be members of the Assembly. They may resign office by writing under their hands addressed to the Governor-General, and may be removed from office by a vote of the Assembly with the concurrence of the Governor-General.

5. A president and deputy-president shall receive such salaries as may be determined, in the case of an appointed president by the Governor-General, and in the case of an elected president and a deputy-president by Act of the Indian legislature.

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

DURATION AND SESSIONS OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL OF STATE

1. Every council of State shall continue for five years, and every Legislative Assembly for three years, from its first meeting:

Provided that—

(a) Either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General; and

(b) And such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit; and

(b) And such period may be extended by the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months or, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, not more than nine months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.

2. The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

3. Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.

4. All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

5. The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE BETTER GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTS FOR SOUTHERN IRELAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND A COUNCIL OF IRELAND

On and after the appointed day there shall be established for Southern Ireland a Parliament to be called the Parliament of Southern Ireland, consisting of His Majesty and the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and there shall be established for Northern Ireland a Parliament to be called the Parliament of Northern Ireland consisting of His Majesty and the House of Commons of Northern Ireland.

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

For the purposes of this Act Northern Ireland shall consist of the parliamentary counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, and the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, and Southern Ireland shall consist of so much of Ireland as is not comprised within the said parliamentary counties and boroughs.

CONSTITUTION OF COUNCIL OF IRELAND

With a view to bringing about harmonious action between the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, and to the promotion of mutual intercourse and uniformity in relation to matters affecting the whole of Ireland, and to providing for the administration of services which the two parliaments mutually agree should be administered uniformly throughout the whole of Ireland, or which by virtue of this Act are to be so administered, there shall be constituted as soon as may be, after the appointed day, a Council to be called the Council of Ireland.

The Council of Ireland shall in the first instance consist of a person appointed by His Majesty, who shall be President, twenty persons, being members of the House of Commons of Southern Ireland chosen by that House in such manner as that House may determine, and twenty persons, being members of the House of Commons of Northern Ireland chosen by that House in such manner as that House may determine, and the appointment of members of the Council of Ireland shall be the first business of the House of Commons of Southern Ireland and of Northern Ireland.

The constitution of the Council of Ireland may from time to time be varied by identical Acts passed by the Parliament of Southern Ireland and the Parliament of Northern Ireland, and the Acts may provide for all or any of the members of the Council of Ireland being elected by parliamentary electors, and determine the constituencies by which the several elective members are to be returned and the number of the members to be returned by the several constituencies and the method of election.

POWER TO ESTABLISH A PARLIAMENT FOR THE WHOLE OF IRELAND

The Parliaments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland may, by identical Acts (hereinafter referred to as constituent Acts), establish in lieu of the Council of Ireland a Parliament for the whole of Ireland consisting of His Majesty and one or two Houses (which shall be called and known as the Parliament of Ireland), and may determine the number of members thereof and the manner in which the members are to be appointed or elected, and the constituencies for which the several elective members are to be returned, and the number of members to be returned by the several constituencies,

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

and the method of appointment or election, and in the event of provision being made for two Houses of Parliament, the relations of the two Houses to one another; and the date at which the Parliament of Ireland is established is hereinafter referred to as the date of Irish union:

Provided that the Bill for a constituent Act shall not be introduced except upon a resolution passed at a previous meeting of the House in which the Bill is to be introduced.

On the date of Irish union the Council of Ireland shall cease to exist and there shall be transferred to the Parliament and Government of Ireland all powers then exercisable by the Council of Ireland, and also the matters, which under this Act ceases to be reserved matters at the date of Irish union, and any other powers for the joint exercise of which by the Parliaments or Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland provision has been made under this Act.

There shall also be transferred to the Parliament and Government of Ireland, except so far as the constituent Acts otherwise provided, all the powers and duties of the Parliaments and Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland, including all powers as to taxation, and unless any powers and duties are retained by the Parliaments and Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland under the constituent Acts, those Parliaments and Governments shall cease to exist:

Provided that if any powers and duties are so retained the constituent Acts shall make provision with respect to the financial relations between the Exchequers of Southern and Northern Ireland on the one hand and the Irish Exchequer on the other.

If by the constituent Acts any powers and duties are so retained as aforesaid the Parliaments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland may subsequently by identical Acts transfer any of those powers and duties to the Government and Parliament of Ireland, and in the event of all such powers and duties being so transferred, the Parliaments and Governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland shall cease to exist.

TEXT OF GOVERNMENT BILL ABOUT TO BE BROUGHT INTO PARLIAMENT FOR RESTORATION AND MAINTENANCE OF ORDER IN IRELAND

August 4, 1920.

1. Where it appears to His Majesty in Council that owing to the existence of a state of disorder in Ireland the ordinary law is inadequate for the prevention and punishment of crime or the maintenance of order His Majesty in Council may issue regulations under the Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act, 1914 (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Act), for securing the restoration and main-

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

tenance of order in Ireland and as to the powers and duties for that purpose of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary and of members of His Majesty's forces and other persons acting on His Majesty's behalf and in particular regulations for the special purpose hereinafter mentioned.

2. The provisions of the principal act with the respect to the trial by courts martial or courts of summary jurisdiction and punishment of persons committing offences against the Defense of the Realm Regulations shall extend to the trial and punishment of persons who have committed crimes in Ireland whether before or after the passing of this act including persons committed for trial or against whom indictments have been found so however that:

- (a) Any crime when so tried shall be punishable with the punishment assigned to the crime by statute or common law.
- (b) A court martial when trying a person charged with a crime punishable by death shall include as a member of the court one person (who need not be an officer) nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, being a person certified by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland or the Lord Chief Justice of England to be a person of legal knowledge and experience, and regulations under the principal Act may be made accordingly.

3. Regulations so made may also

- (a) Provide that a court of summary jurisdiction when trying a person charged with a crime or with an offence against the regulations when hearing and determining any application with respect to a recognizance shall, except in the Dublin Metropolitan police district, be constituted of two or more resident magistrates and that a court of quarter sessions when hearing and determining an appeal against a conviction of a court of summary jurisdiction for any such crime or offence shall be constituted of the recorder or county court judge sitting alone.
- (b) Confer on a court martial the powers and jurisdiction exercisable by justices or any other civil court for binding persons to keep the peace or be of good behavior for entreating and enforcing recognizance and for compelling persons to give evidence and to produce documents before the court.
- (c) Confer on persons authorized to summon witnesses before a court martial the power of issuing warrants for compelling persons to attend as wit-

nesses and any warrant so issued shall have the like effect and be executed in the like manner as if issued by a justice of the court of summary jurisdiction having jurisdiction in the place in which it is executed or sought to be executed.

- (d) Authorize the imposition by courts martial of fines in addition to or in substitution for any other punishments for offences against the regulations as well as for crimes and provide for the manner in which such fines are to be enforced.
- (e) Authorize the conveyance to and detention in any of His Majesty's prisons in any part of the United Kingdom of any persons upon whom a sentence of imprisonment has been passed in Ireland whether before or after the passing of this act.
- (f) Provide for any of the duties of a coroner and any coroner's jury, being performed by a court of inquiry constituted under the Army Act instead of by the coroner and jury.
- (g) Provide that where the court house or other building in which any court has been usually held is destroyed or rendered unfit for the purpose, the court may be held in such other court house or building as may be directed by the Lord Lieutenant.
- (h) Authorize the trial without a jury of any action, counter claim, civil bill, issue, cause or matter in the High Court or a County Court in Ireland which apart from this provision would be triable with a jury.
- (i) Provide for the retention of sums payable to any local authority from the local taxation (Ireland) account or from any Parliamentary grant or from any fund administered by any Government department or public body where the local authority has in any respect refused or failed to perform its duties, or for the purpose of discharging amounts awarded against the local authority in respect of compensation for criminal injuries or either liabilities of the local authorities and for the application of the sums so retained in or towards the purpose aforesaid.

4. Any such regulations may apply either generally to the whole of Ireland or to any part thereof and may be issued at any time whether before or after the termination of the present war and the Principal Act shall continue in force as far as may be necessary for that purpose and the regulations may contain such incidental, supple-

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

mentary, and consequential provisions as may be necessary, for carrying out the purpose of this Act shall have effect as if enacted in this Act.

5. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the expression, "crime," means any treason, felony, misdemeanor or other offense punishable whether by indictment or on summary conviction by imprisonment or by any greater punishment and other offenses against the Defense of the Realm Regulations. The expression "Persons committed for trial" shall include a person who has entered into recognizance conditions to appear and plead to an indictment or to take his trial upon any criminal charge or who has been committed to prison there to await his trial for any crime.

British Library of Information
Eighth Floor, 44 Whitehall Street, New York

August 26, 1920.

Dear Sir: As desired in your letter of August 24th, I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the Government of Ireland Bill now before Parliament, together with an outline of the financial provisions of that bill and a copy of the speech made by the Prime Minister in announcing its introduction. This bill has not yet passed through all its stages in Parliament and its further consideration has been postponed pending the restoration of order in Ireland. A special bill for the "Restoration of Order" was introduced a few days ago and I am enclosing a copy of this bill for your information. It is the present intention of the Government to proceed with the Home Rule Bill as soon as the present epidemic of murder and intimidation has been got in hand, and it is, of course, possible that Parliament will amend the bill before finally passing it, or that Irishmen may at the last moment come to some general agreement which would result in a different settlement of the whole question. It cannot, therefore, be predicted with certainty that this bill will go into force as it stands.

As regards India, I am sending you a copy of the Government of India Act 1919, which introduces representative and Parliamentary Government to the country, together with a copy of the Government of India Act 1915, which was superseded by the later measure. I also send a copy of the report to Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reforms, signed jointly by Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and by Lord Chelmsford, Governor General, upon which the new legislation was based.

EGYPTIAN DELEGATION

I trust that these documents will cover your requirements, and shall be most happy to forward any further information which you may at any time desire.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

C. G. de GRAS.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.,
care Press Club of Chicago,
155 North Clark Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Through the courtesy of Dr. G. Cooke
Adams of the Press Club of Chicago I
was introduced to Mr. C. G. De Gras.

VISCOUNT MILNER MISSION AND EGYPTIAN DELEGATION AGREE ON INDEPENDENCE PACT

(By the Associated Press)

London, England, Aug. 23, 1920.—The London Times says this morning it understands that Great Britain has agreed to recognize the independence of Egypt.

The decision, according to the London Times, resulted from recent conversations here between the Viscount Milner mission, which recently visited Egypt, and an Egyptian delegation, headed by Said Zagloul Pasha, former minister of justice.

Among the fundamental points of the agreement are:

"Egypt will recognize Great Britain's privileged position in the valley of the Nile and agree, in case of war, to afford every facility for access to Egyptian territory; Great Britain will maintain a garrison in Egypt; in the canal zone Egypt regains control of foreign relations, subject to her not making treaties contrary to British policy, and will have the right to maintain diplomatic representatives abroad. Capitulations will be abolished."

LAY PACT BEFORE PARLIAMENT

Negotiations incident to recognition of independence will take place between this country and the world powers as soon as a final agreement is signed by the Egyptian and British governments, says the Times. The final convention will be submitted for confirmation to the British Parliament and the Egyptian Assembly.

Features of the agreement, as outlined by the newspaper, include a guaranty by Great Britain of Egypt's integrity against outside aggression. The present system of placing advisors in different ministries will be discontinued, but British officials will be appointed to take over and carry out the operations of public debt commission and look after legislation regarding foreigners. All British officials who may be retained in the Egyptian service or appointed in future will be responsible to Egyptian heads of departments. Legislation affecting foreigners may be vetoed by the high commissioner.

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

CANADA THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN ACT, MARCH 29, 1867

An act for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick and the government therewith.

The liberal constitutions of Australia, Nova Scotia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, included in my former book demonstrate the advance the Kingdom of Great Britain has made in the line of Representative Constitutional government. The mother country has willingly fostered and promoted this system of government in her loyal colonies which have shown their ability to administer the same in an efficient manner. (See *Modern Constitution*, Walter F. Dodd, for full text.)

Manitoba has four senators, British Columbia three, Alberta and Saskatchewan four each, making a total of eighty-seven senators. (See Section 147 for the representation of Prince Edward's Island in the Senate.)

147. In case of the admission of Newfoundland and Prince Edward's Island or either of them, each shall be entitled to a representation in the Senate of Canada of four members, and (notwithstanding anything in this act), in use of the admission of Newfoundland, the normal number of senators shall be seventy-six and their maximum number shall be eighty-two but Prince Edward's Island when admitted, shall be deemed to be comprised in the third of the divisions into which Canada is, in relation to the constitution of the Senate divided by this act, and accordingly, after the admission of Prince Edward's Island whether Newfoundland is admitted or not, the representation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the Senate shall as vacancies occur, be reduced from twelve to ten members respectively, and the representation of each of those provinces shall not be increased at any time beyond ten, except under the provision of this act, for the appointment of three or six additional senators under the direction of the Queen.

In the redistribution or reapportionment of representation in Parliament gains are made by the new provinces, losses are felt by the old. Thus, under the provisions of the redistribution bill in 1904, which was based upon the 1901 census, 214 members were given the House of Commons. Three years later the act was amended so as to give Alberta and Saskatchewan, newly formed provinces, representation according to population. Alberta was given seven members and Saskatchewan ten, an increase of seven for the two.

The next Parliament will have 234 members, and in the reapportionment, the west will get the thirteen additional seats and seven or eight seats of which the eastern provinces will be deprived. The British North American Act of 1867 provides that the province of

EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Quebec shall always have sixty-five members in the House of Commons, and that the representation from the other eight provinces shall be in such number as shall bear the same ratio to the population of the province which it represents as sixty-five bears to the population of the province of Quebec.

This, then, establishes a basis, and it is upon this basis that the new apportionment will be made. While the changes of the last ten years in Canada have been remarkable in many respects, there is hardly a doubt that they will be even more marked at the close of the present decade.

COLONIES CLASSED ENGLISH AS TO IMPORTANCE

The outlying possessions are of two kinds:

1. Those of continental importance in themselves, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, South Africa and the West Indian and South American Colonies; and

2. Coaling stations, naval ports, commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad and a score more.

Political classes:

Some of the colonies are completely self-governed, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada, Australia, and quite so of Cape Colony. These colonies are said to have "Responsible governments."

The English ministry appoints a governor-general, a nominal executive, whose power resembles those of the figurehead monarch in England, but the people of the colonies elect the local Legislature, and the real executive is the local ministry, responsible to the Legislature as the ministry in England is to Parliament.

"India is a huge colony of the crown. Until 1851, it remained under control of the East India Company, but in that year came the sepoy mutiny—a rising of a part of the native soldiers—and when order had been restored, India was annexed to the British crown. The English ministry appoints a viceroy and a council, and these authorities name the subordinate officials for the subdivisions of the vast country. In the smaller districts, the English officials are assisted by immediate officers and to some extent by elected councils of natives.

"Outside the territory ruled directly by England, there are also nearly a thousand native principalities, large and small, where the governments are really directed by resident English agents.—(West's Modern History, Page 557.)

NEWSPAPERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

NEWSPAPERS REPRESENTING THE WORLD EMPIRE OF GREAT BRITAIN

Sir Patrick Thomas McGrath, member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland; editor and proprietor of the St. John's Evening Herald, has contributed to the September Review of Reviews an interesting description of Britain's Press Parliament, Canadian Meeting of the British Empire, Press Union in the Overseas Dominion. He states that it is an organization of newspapers of both the United Kingdom and its overseas possessions and attended by representatives of newspapers in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, New Africa, Malta, Egypt, India, Ceylon, Malays, Hong-Kong, Australia and New Zealand.

Never, perhaps, has such a gathering been brought about in any land or clime of those whose task is to mold public opinion, the personnel ranging downward from Viscount Burnham, the multi-millionaire proprietor of the London Daily Telegraph, Lord Apsley, son of the proprietor of the London Morning Post, and Baron Atholstan, proprietor of the Montreal Daily Star, through a group of titled principals of British and Overseas journals, to directors, managers, editors, and correspondents from far and near, the roster being completed by spokesmen for the printers and other mechanics associated with the production of newspapers, and one lady, the mouthpiece of the women journalists of the British Isles.

About 120 delegates from all parts of the Empire except Canada are participating in the whole tour; with Canadian delegates engaging in the conference proper, decisions being reached by the entire gathering on the basis of one vote for each delegate, Canada having twenty votes, or the equivalent of those from Australia and New Zealand, which countries most nearly approach her in point of population.

This conference is the outgrowth of a movement originated twelve years ago, with the object of promoting a better interchange of knowledge and information between the various units of the British Empire. It was made clear to the leading newspaper magnates of London how fruitful of good such a parliament of Empire editors would be and a preliminary conference was convened in London in 1909, which was attended by spokesmen from overseas as well as from England, resulting in a permanent organization being formed and steps taken for a larger conference in Canada in 1915, to be followed thereafter, at five-year intervals, by similar meetings in the other large oversea possessions. The oncoming of war in 1914 rendered the carrying out of this program impossible, but now that peace has come to the world again the plan is being taken up anew and it is hoped that 1924 will see the conference functioning in

PERSIA A REPUBLIC

Australia, four years later in South Africa, after that in India, and subsequently in other parts of the Empire. At the same time branches have been organized in the various large overseas Dominions with local executives, by which means the sentiment of each of these ap-pagnages on questions of pressing import can be readily registered.

The importance of this Press Conference is enhanced enormously by the fact that it follows so closely upon the great war which has done so much to cement the constituent parts of the British Empire and to improve the relations between all sections of it through their common sacrifices in the recent conflict.

PERSIA A REPUBLIC; SHAH ABDICATES

Paris, August 9, 1920.—(Herald and Examiner-Universal Cable.)
—The Shah of Persia has abdicated and a Persian republic has been formed, according to a Central News dispatch from Constantinople to the Echo de Paris today.

WORLD TRIBUNAL

LEAGUE GIVES PLAN FOR WORLD TRIBUNAL

(By The Associated Press)

London, England, Sept. 15, 1920.—The headquarters of the league of nations has made public the text of the project for a permanent court of international justice, as adopted by The Hague committee of jurists of which Elihu Root was a member, with a letter from the council of the league to all governments that have entered the league of nations.

The council in its letter to the governments says:

"The council do not propose to express any opinion on the merits of the scheme until they have had a full opportunity of considering it."

Articles 2 and 3 give the membership of the court as follows:

"The permanent court of international justice shall be composed of a body of independent judges, elected regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required, in their respective countries, for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law.

"The court shall consist of fifteen members—eleven judges and four deputy judges. The number of judges and deputy judges may be hereafter increased by the assembly upon the proposal of the council of the league of nations to a total of fifteen judges and six deputy judges."

The manner of choosing the judges by the different national groups is provided. The members of the court are elected for nine years. The president and the vice-president of the court serve for three years. The seat of the court is established at The Hague, a session shall be held each year, beginning June 15, and an extraordinary session may be called whenever necessary by the president of the court, who must reside at The Hague. The full court of eleven judges shall sit, but if eleven are not available nine judges shall suffice to constitute the court. Three judges sit in chambers annually to hear and determine summary procedure. Salaries of the court are fixed and expenses borne by the league of nations.

The questions which the court is competent to determine between members of the league are given as follows:

"The interpretation of a treaty.

"Any question of international law.

"The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation.

"The nature or extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

"The interpretation of a sentence passed by the court."

The court also shall take cognizance of all disputes of any kind which may be submitted to it by a general or particular convention between the parties.

The official language of the court is French, but another language may be authorized at the request of parties to a case.

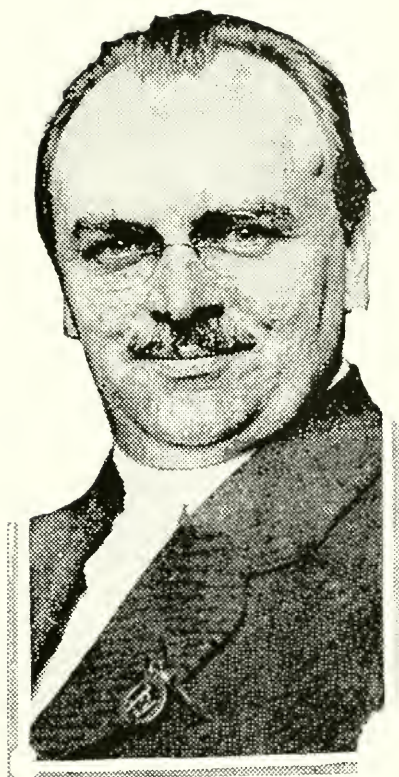
THE CZECHO-SLOVAKIA REPUBLIC

By Prof. J. J. Zmrhal, who recently returned from a visit to the new Republic, and has written articles for the *Chicago Evening Journal*. The following are used by permission:

It will be well in starting to have the country and the people firmly fixed in the reader's mind. There seems to be considerable confusion of terms. Bohemia, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Moravia, etc., are high sounding names which remind the average American of the din of the world's war and the reorganization of Central Europe, but beyond that convey very little meaning. I shall attempt to make these names clear to my readers in as simple a manner as possible.

When Austria-Hungary collapsed, it resolved itself into its component parts as follows: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia (Austrian) and Slovakia countries inhabited by Czechs and Slovaks, two very closely related nationalities, were made into one Republic; namely, the Czechoslovak Republic; Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and certain parts of Carniola and Istria, countries inhabited by Croats, Slovenes and Serbs, three nationalities speaking practically the same language, joined with Serbia and Montenegro to form the country of the Southern Slavs, or Jugoslavia (Jugo meaning Southern). Roumanians of Transylvania joined Roumania, Galician Poles joined liberated Poland, and the Italian Irridenta of Tyrol and other parts of former Austria joined Italy. Thus out of this old Austria-Hungary arose just three new independent Republics; namely, the Czechoslovak Republic, Austria, and the Republic of Hungary. In fact, disintegration of Austria-Hungary added only one new independent state to the nations of Europe, i. e., Czechoslovakia. By this I do not mean that the Czechoslovak nation had never formed an independent state, on the contrary, it existed as such long before Austria-Hungary was even dreamt of (Xth to the beginning of XVII century). What I wish to make clear is, that dismemberment of Austria did not result in a multitude of small states, as some writers would have it, and that the situation in Central Europe has not been much complicated by the new order of things.

To recapitulate: Jugoslavia, or the Country of the Southern Slavs, is Serbia and Montenegro with the Southern Slavs of former Austria added; Czechoslovakia is the Republic of the Czechs and Slovaks and comprises four countries, namely, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, with the Uhorusins (Hungarian Russians) who asked to be



PROF. J. J. ZMRHAL

added as an autonomous country and whose request was granted by the Peace Conference. Hungarian Russia is the easternmost part of the Czechoslovak Republic (see the map). The language of the Slovaks is a beautiful variation of the Czech tongue, and differs so little from it that he who knows one does not need to learn the other to understand it. There were many Slovaks of note who wrote in the Czech language, as for example, Jan Kolar, Pavel Safarik and others. During the reformation as well as today, the Slovaks used Czech bibles, song books and prayer books, and their culture has always been one with that of the Czechs. They have been and are now in fact one nation, have always and do today belong together and form one homogeneous whole.

The only difference between them is that the Slovaks, separated from the Czechs, became a part of Hungary, and hence to be the victims of the Magyar oppression which was far more brutal and reckless than the Austrian and were not given any chance to develop their natural abilities, which are really considerable, while the Czechs enjoyed much better educational opportunities. The Czechoslovak government made up for this gross injustice by organizing in Slovakia four thousand elementary and thirty-five secondary schools and one university during the first year of its free existence. The Czechs esteem the Slovaks very highly. You can not stay long in Bohemia, Prague especially, without hearing Slovak songs sung, or played by orchestras. They are popular because of their originality, beauty, freshness, feeling, and because they are Slovak.

The writer is often asked the question why the name "Czechoslovak" has been substituted for "Bohemian." This was done to emphasize the unity of the two seemingly different nationalities to emphasize the fact that they are one nationality and also to give the Slovak element due recognition and put them on terms of absolute equality in the Republic.

The Magyars, dissatisfied with having to give up their victim, are doing their best to confuse the public mind as to these facts, and besides, are stirring up trouble wherever they can in Slovakia itself, by sending paid agitators who disturb the minds of the simple folks by various lies, and charging the evils which resulted from the war, such as scarcity of certain articles, etc., to the Czech government. However, the consolidation work is going on steadily, the times are getting better, and the agitators are losing ground very rapidly.

I do not share the view of those who say that Europe has been "Balkanized," that many new nationalities have come into existence, that this situation will be a source of trouble, etc. On the contrary, the European problem has been considerably simplified by the disintegration of Austria, who, by her aggressiveness in the Balkans

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

and free use of that devilish principle "Divide et impera," was a constant irritator and schemer, setting the various people against each other for personal gain. Czechoslovakia, as we will see later, is oil upon the troubled waters of Europe and an isle of peace and order in spite of the confusion around her.

Anyone unacquainted with the history of the Czecho-Slovak revolution would be a little puzzled at seeing a most progressive, up-to-date and certainly one of the most democratic constitutions in operation, and at the same time, here and there, a law which can grace the statutes of only such a bureaucratic, backward and hide-bound country as was the Austria-Hungarian empire of recent but not glorious memory.

And yet it is the most natural thing that this should be so. The first provisional government, the *narodni vabor* (national committee) issued on Oct. 28, 1918, the famous declaration of independence amidst indescribable rejoicing and jubilation of all the people.

OLD LAWS PREVENT ANARCHY

To prevent disorder, confusion and possible anarchy, the same committee declared all the Austrian laws valid until they are replaced by new laws legally passed by the national assembly, the newly constituted lawmaking body.

This was an act of wisdom such as we rarely find in history; for it gave the country peace and order such as has never accompanied any revolution in the history of nations. As a result the country passed a period of comparative quiet until on Feb. 29, 1920, the new constitution was published.

It is a document which did, on the whole, satisfy the democratic cravings of the nation. It guarantees all the rights and privileges enjoyed in the most democratic countries of the world—freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, secret and direct voting, equality of sexes before the law and in politics, equal and extensive rights of all the citizens, irrespective of position held or property owned; protection and representation of all minorities, absolute religious and political freedom. In brief, everything guaranteed by our own United States constitution.

HARD PROBLEMS TO SOLVE

However, some of the old Austrian laws are still in force, not having been replaced with new ones, because it was a physical impossibility to make over all the statutes in two years and do it wisely, especially since the two years were years of precarious existence, fraught with untold dangers and most excruciating problems.

Even he who wishes to be very critical will concede, after look-

GENERAL WRANGEL

ing over the work actually accomplished, that perhaps no more could have been done even under better circumstances than those actually encountered.

On looking over the constitution one is impressed with the manifest anxiety of its makers to safeguard the rights of minorities of every description, racial, religious, political.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Take, for instance, the law in regard to the protection of national minorities. In order to make things as clear as possible I shall take the liberty to quote at some length:

(See Constitution, Sec. 128, 1.)

Further, the same section continues: Teach children in own tongue. (Paragraph 131.)

GENERAL WRANGEL'S MINISTERS AIM TO HAVE LAND GO TO PEASANTS AND WAR'S DEBTS PAID

(New York Times, Sept. 8, 1920)

The basic principles of the new south Russian government have been stated briefly by Prof. Pierre Struve, Wrangel's advisor on foreign affairs, on a recent visit to London. Struve was director of the economic department in the ministry of foreign affairs in the first government following the overthrow of the czar. He escaped from Russia after the bolshevist revolution and returned to south Russia last fall.

The most striking feature of Wrangel's program is the recognition of peasant seizure of land. The next is the proposal to bring about a united Russia through a voluntary union of all of its parts. Here is the program as stated by Professor Struve:

"The seizure by the peasants of land belonging to landed proprietors must be recognized in all cases where such seizure has actually taken place. This recognition should be viewed as the initial stage of an important agrarian reform tending to secure full possession of the land by those peasants who cultivate it by their personal efforts. It is, therefore, a question of legalizing the results of the agrarian revolution which has taken place, in favor of the new owners of the land, and of establishing an agrarian regime based upon the principle of private ownership, a principle which indisputably tallies with the aspirations of the Russian peasantry.

"The future organization of Russia must be based upon an agreement between actually existing political formations. The union of the various parts of Russia into one large federation of bodies politic must be established upon an agreement freely arrived at between them

EXECUTION OF CZAR AND FAMILY

as a result of their community of interest and, still more, on their economic needs. Such a policy seeks in no way to impose union by force.

"Whatever may be the future relations between the different parts of Russia, now separated, the political organization of those territories and the constitution of the federal union must be derived from the will of the people, freely expressed through the agency of representative and democratically elected assemblies.

"To give satisfaction to the interests of the peasant population, to restore health to the moral life of the nation, to reconstruct its economic organization and to unite all the elements of order and progress—these are the aims which the commander in chief has constantly before him. In his opinion, their achievement is the sole means of helping Russia to emerge from the state of anarchy into which she has been plunged by the communistic regime, which has made her the theatre of monstrous social experiments, such as the history of the world has never known."

PROVE EXECUTION OF EX-CZAR AND FAMILY

(By The Associated Press)

London, England, Aug. 28.—All possible doubts that former Emperor Nicholas of Russia and his family were killed in the basement of their prison house at Ekaterinburg on the night of July 16, 1918, seems to be dispelled by the accounts of two independent investigations which are published here.

One is printed by the London Times and was written by its former Petrograd correspondent, Robert Wilton. The other appears in the magazine *Nineteenth Century and After* and is from the pen of Capt. Francis McCullagh of the British army, who before the war was a widely known newspaper correspondent.

Both writers spent several weeks at Ekaterinburg and talked with natives and soldiers who witnessed the affair through the windows of the house. They agree on the important details of the story.

The victims they say, numbered eleven, being the former emperor, his wife, son and four daughters, Dr. Botkin and three household attendants. The execution was arranged by Yurovski, the jailer in charge of the deposed royal family, and was carried out by twelve soldiers.

The Times account states these men were Letts, but Captain McCullagh declares they were Magyars, who had been placed on duty instead of a Russian guard because the bolsheviks feared a Russian could not be trusted for the work.

Captain McCullagh's story says all the doomed party, except Nicholas, were on their knees, crossing themselves, as Yurovski

EXECUTION OF CZAR AND FAMILY

shouted the order for the execution of "Nicholas Romanov, the bloody, and all his family." The former emperor then stepped quickly in front of his wife and children, saying something which could not be heard, and was shot by Yurovski. The remainder of the party was shot down with revolvers, and later the soldiers bayonetted the bodies, Captain McCullagh asserts.

These accounts confirm previous reports, but it is known that the former emperor's mother, who is in Copenhagen, and Dowager Queen Alexandra of Great Britain, her sister, have refused to give up hope of the royal family's escape until quite recently, when private reports furnished them by Captain McCullagh and Mr. Wilton, at the request of relatives, convinced them the killing of the Russian royal family was carried out.

Yurovski, who had been president of the extraordinary commission at Ekaterinburg, is declared to have boasted to Captain McCullagh last March that he had condemned sixty persons suspected of anti-bolshevist sentiments, and is quoted as saying:

"What are sixty men?"

After the killing of Nicholas and his family, Yurovski, it is asserted, hastened to Moscow to report the details to Nikolai Lenin, the bolshevist premier. According to Captain McCullagh, he was promoted to be commissioner of life insurance in the province of Ekaterinburg and occupies the handsomest house in the town, which was confiscated from a merchant. Even the bolsheviki of the city, however, it is declared, shun him.

On the square overlooked by Emperor Nicholas' last prison the bolshevist local government has, it is said, placed a large sign, bearing the words:

"Square of national vengeance."

HENRY FORD

FORD MOTOR COMPANY GOES BACK TO PRE-WAR PRICES

"For Best Interests of All," Is Assertion

Detroit, Mich., Sept. 21.—(Special.)—The Ford Motor Company today announced a reduction in the price of its cars "to the pre-war level."

In making the announcement, stating that some one has to start the movement from high prices downward, Henry Ford says:

"The war is over and it is time war prices were over. There is no sense or wisdom in trying to maintain an artificial standard of values. For the best interests of all it is time that a real practical move was made to bring the business of the country and the life of the country down to normal.

"Inflated prices always retard progress. We had to stand it during the war, although it wasn't right, so the Ford Motor Company will make the prices of its products the same as they were before the war.

"MEANS TEMPORARY LOSS

"This in face of the fact that we have unfilled orders for immediate delivery of 146,065 cars and tractors.

"We must, of course, take a temporary loss because of the stock of materials on hand, bought at inflated prices, and until we use that stock up we will have to submit to a loss, but we take it willingly in order to bring about a going state of business throughout the country.

CALL HALT ON WAR GREED

"Now is the time to call a halt on war methods, war prices, war profiteering and war greed. It may be necessary for everybody to stand a little sacrifice, but it will be most profitable after all, because the sooner we get the business of the country back to a pre-war condition the sooner the lives of our people become more natural—progress, prosperity and contentment will occupy the attention of our people.

"There will be no change in wages."

BY HENRY FORD

Founder of the Ford Motor Company, and "the Wizard of Modern Methods" in Business, Transportation and Economic Conditions

Henry Ford is not only a genius in invention and management, but also in the solution of social, economic, commercial, transportation and other problems. Among his side lines is the publica-

HENRY FORD

tion of an international weekly—the “Dearborn Independent”—for which he has an able staff, but there is one page which Mr. Ford edits himself, and of which the following from the issue of July 17th is a sample:

“Sooner or later we pay for the follies of our past. A great deal of the cry about our transportation difficulties is due to our past sins in this respect. This is not always understood; people are led to believe that something suddenly has gone wrong. Nothing of the kind has happened. The mistaken and foolish things we did years ago are just overtaking us and collecting their due. At the beginning of railway transportation in the United States the people had been taught its use, just as they had to be taught the use of the telephone. Also, the new railroads had to make business in order to keep themselves solvent. And because railway financing began in one of the rottenest periods of our business history, a number of practices were established as precedents which have influenced railway work more or less ever since.

“One of the first things to be done was to throttle all other methods of transportation. There was the beginning of a splendid canal system in this country, and a great movement for canalization was in the height of its enthusiastic strength when the railroad companies bought out the canal companies and let the canals fill up and choke with weeds and refuse. All over the Eastern and in parts of the Middle Western States are the remains of this network of internal waterways. They are being restored now as rapidly as possible; they are being linked together; various commissions, public and private, have seen the vision of a complete system of waterways serving all parts of the country and, thanks to their efforts and persistence and faith, progress is being made.

“That was one folly which the advent of railway transportation forced upon the country.

“One of the great changes in our economic life to which this railroad policy contributed was the centralization of certain activities, not because centralization was necessary, nor because it contributed more to the well-being of the people, but because, among other things, it made double business for the railroads.

“Take those two staples, meat and grain, for example. If you look at the maps which the packing houses put out, and see where the cattle are drawn from; and then if you consider that the cattle, when converted into food, are hauled again by the same railways right back to the place where they came from, you will get some sidelight on the transportation problem and the price of meat.

“Take also the matter of grain. Every reader of advertise-

HENRY FORD

ments knows where the great flour mills of the country are located. And they probably know also that where the great mills are located is not representative at all of the sections where all the grain of the United States is raised. There are staggering quantities of grain, thousands of trainloads, hauled uselessly long distances, and then in the form of flour hauled back again long distances to the States and sections where the grain was raised—a burdening of the railroads which is of no benefit to the communities where the grain originated, nor to any one else except the monopolistic mills and the railroads. The railroads can always do a big business without helping the business of the country at all; they can always be engaged in just such useless things. On meat and grain and perhaps on cotton, too, the transportation burden could be cut in half, yes, reduced by more than half, by the preparation of the product for use before it is shipped at all. If a coal community mined coal in Pennsylvania, and then sent it by railway to Michigan or Wisconsin to be screened, and then hauled back again to Pennsylvania for use, it would not be much sillier than the hauling of Texas beef alive to Chicago, there to be killed, and then shipped back dead to Texas; or the hauling of Kansas grain to Minnesota, there to be ground in the mills and hauled back again as flour.

“Wherever it is possible a policy of decentralization ought to be adopted. We need instead of mammoth flour mills at one corner of the country, a multitude of smaller mills distributed through all the sections where grain is grown. Wherever it is possible, the section that produces the raw material ought to produce also the finished product. Grain should be ground to flour where it is grown. A hog-growing country should not export hogs, but pork, hams and bacon. The cotton mills ought to be near the cotton fields.

“This idea is not advanced solely for its relation to the transportation problem—although it would bring inestimable relief there—but also for its effect on our life generally. Our communities ought to be more complete in themselves. They ought not to be unnecessarily dependent on railway transportation. Out of what they produce they should supply their own needs and ship the

UNITED STATES OF RUSSIA

surplus. And how can they do this unless they have the means of taking their raw materials, like grain and cattle, and changing them into finished products? If private enterprise does not yield these means, the co-operation of farmers can. The chief injustice sustained by the farmer today is that, being the greatest producer, he is prevented from being also the greatest merchandiser, because he is compelled to sell to those who put his products into merchantable form. If he could change his grain into flour, his cattle into beef and his hogs into hams and bacon, not only would he receive the fuller profit of his product, but he would render his near-by communities more independent of railway exigencies, and thereby improve the transportation system by relieving it of the burden of his unfinished product."

UNITED STATES OF RUSSIA, SIMILAR TO AMERICA, PLAN OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT

By Frank Mason, International News Service Staff Correspondent

Berlin, March 6.—The United States of Russia—a federation similar to the United States of America—is the future form that Russia will take, according to a prediction made today by Count Pahlen, former governor general of Vilna, who was president of West Russia in 1919.

He added that there will be a central government like that at Washington, but that it will take a long time for the new state to work out and stabilize its existence.

"The West Russia regime was created during the violent fighting that ranged between the northern frontier of Poland and Petrograd during 1919, but it collapsed after a short existence," he said. "Its sympathies were said to be pro-Bolshevist, and it had the assistance of large forces of German troops that were then in Courland.

"Lenine (the premier of soviet Russia) recognizes Russia's economic dependence upon the trade routes of Latvia and Esthonia and is promising them local autonomy. But he is also said to be demanding that they join an economic alliance with Great Russia.

"I believe that the new United States of Russia will include Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Ukraina and Crimea."

While Lenine and Trotzky are striving for peace with the outside

LABOR PARTY TO REMOVE FUNDS

world, the resumption of commerce and the building up of Russia economically, they are looking far into the future. Lenine is quoted as saying he is ambitious to "establish a working soviet government, controlled by the common people, which will arouse the admiration of the working classes in the other nations of Europe."

ASKS LABOR BODY TO MOVE FUNDS TO NORTH DAKOTA (Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept. 6, 1920.)

A resolution to move all funds of the Chicago Federation of Labor from Chicago banks to the State Bank of North Dakota, a Non-partisan institution at Bismark, was offered by Secretary Edward N. Nockles at the meeting of the Chicago federation yesterday.

Labor has at last found the "nigger in the woodpile," said Mr. Nockles in offering his resolution. "Labor has been depositing its moneys in banks owned and operated by capital, and capital has been using that money to defeat laboring interests. Take your money out of those banks, cause a run on them, put them in a bad condition, and if the banks fall capital will fall."

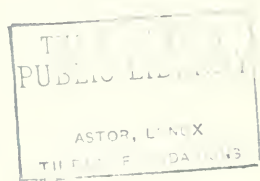
"Banks are the curse of this country," said John Fitzpatrick, president of the federation. "These 3 per cent savings accounts especially are a curse, for they give capital the use of your money at 3 per cent and they in turn make 60 or 70 per cent. That is the chain that is forged around your neck, and you would be much better off with your money in a safe deposit vault."

Fitzpatrick and Nockles were nominated to succeed themselves as president and secretary of the federation. Other nominations were: Vice-president, Oscar Nelson and Victor Kohler. financial secretary, Edwin Hopp and Thomas Kennedy; reading clerk, George W. Plowright and John Walt; sergeant at arms, Richard Olson and Charles Hayman.

MOVE TO MERGE OPEN SHOP FIRMS ALL OVER NATION

Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 5, 1920.—(Special).—Coincident with the slacking demand for unskilled or semi-skilled labor, a movement has been launched by the Associated Employers of Indianapolis to link together all commercial and employing organizations in the country favorable to or committed to the "open shop." Replies have been received from 600 such bodies from coast to coast and from the gulf to the lakes.

It is proposed, according to A. J. Allen, manager and representative here of the National Metal Trades Association, to line up the organizations, just as the chambers and boards of commerce of the country "found it worth while to form the United States Chamber of Commerce."





On Social Justice Day, at Marion, Ohio, October 1, showing Mrs. Richard Edwards, Chairman of the Committee, presenting Senator Warren G. Harding with the new book, "Abraham Lincoln and New Constitutional Governments," from The Regal Press of Oak Park, Ill., containing the recent European Constitutions and a sketch or comparison of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, sent by the author Bartow A. Ulrich, of Chicago, an 80-year-old member of the Chicago Press Club, who could not be present at the presentation. Mr. Ulrich took an active part in the campaign for the election of his old time friend and neighbor in Springfield, Abraham Lincoln, for the second term of office. He met Mr. Lincoln in the White House in February, 1865, just two months prior to his assassination. At that time Mr. Lincoln appeared in fine health, and was very cheerful on account of the prospects of an early settlement of the Civil War.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

REVIEWS AND LETTERS REFERRING TO BOOK ENTITLED, "ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENTS," AND OTHER WRITINGS OF BARTOW A. ULRICH.

The following letters and reviews refer to my recent publication entitled, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," which not only gives a brief sketch of the great martyr president, whom I personally knew, but also demonstrates the practicability of a representative republican form of government like that of the United States and shows what Lincoln accomplished towards maintaining the constitution in its integrity and the union in its entirety. He said in his Gettysburg speech that, "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The Gettysburg speech is considered one of the masterpieces of English literature and as such will be handed down to future generations.

I included Modern Constitutions to date of my first edition, and will arrange to publish the new ones as they are promulgated and will mail those buying this book copies, if desired, at 10c *extra*, each, including postage.

THE WORLD WAR.

(From Journal, November 11, 1918.)

The world was startled by the sudden movement of the military class of Germany, headed by the Emperor King, William II, who unexpectedly and without warning precipitated the great World War which proved to be the greatest contest known to history, July 29, 1914. Treitschke and Von Bernhardi and other advocates of war and military force for conquest had long been instilling vicious doctrines into the minds of the German people, until the leaders deemed the time ripe on account of the complications between Austria and Servia to plunge Europe into a whirlpool of fire, destruction, bankruptcy and ruin. These writers, however, failed to tell what the final results would be if their advice was followed, not only to the States attacked but to Germany itself. Now exhausted and conquered, the former boasting and ruthless invaders of adjoining peaceful nations cry for peace and an armistice has been signed this morning. Thus ends the most destructive and ruthless war the

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

world has ever experienced. Those who instigated it and forced it upon unprepared nations deserve the condemnation of present and future generations.

It is to be hoped that this is the last conflict between great nations and that means will be taken to curb Germany and every other nation which attempts to recklessly plunge the world into savage and needless wars to satisfy their desire for conquest, revenge, jealousy or ambition.

While writing down these reflections in the Chicago Press Club in the City Hall Square Building, twenty-first floor, overlooking the city, I hear the steam whistles blowing, bands playing, the people yelling and strips of paper flying from windows while crowds are surging along the street in every direction, autos tooting, people blowing horns and general pandemonium reigns.

The Club members are dancing about, singing patriotic songs, the Star Spangled Banner, the Marseillaise and other songs while others are playing on the piano and marching around the hall with flags. I might add on the side that some are indulging in cock-tails, etc.

THE U. S. CIVIL WAR.

April 16, 1861, I made the following entry in my Journal:

"Day before yesterday came the news of the firing on Fort Sumpter. The bombardment of Fort Sumpter by the Secessionists has awakened the country from the nightmare of apprehension and indecision which has besieged it. The lion of the North has been fully aroused. The assault upon a United States fort by the rebels resounded around the world and fired the patriotic hearts of the loyal North. The lovers of loyalty and liberty have arisen as one man to fight for union and freedom."

April 7, 1865, I had the pleasure of writing the following in my Journal:

"General Robert E. Lee has asked to surrender to General U. S. Grant. General Lee finally surrendered to U. S. Grant, giving up his army of 28,230 soldiers at Appomatox. On Sunday, April 18, 1865, Jefferson Davis was captured. So ends the victory for liberty."

The world advances periodically according to history in the accomplishment of liberty and righteousness against vicious force and the hateful spirit of war to maintain slavery and autocracy.

With the fall of the boasting German empire came the overthrow of the tyrannical, absolute monarchy of Russia with all its long period of terrors, assassinations and wars. Hell is populated



THE PRESS CLUB OF CHICAGO, WAR COUNCIL, 1915-1917

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

with the kings, emperors, princes, warrior heroes, etc., who have created at various times a counterpart of hell on the continent of Europe.

With the passing away of the dominating, tyrannical and inhuman monarchs of Germany, Austria, Russia and other dynasties, liberty and justice and peace may have a spiritual and local abiding place in Europe, so that the people can enjoy freedom never known before.

The United States of America during the one hundred and forty-two years from the adoption of the first constitution has accomplished more for civilization, humanity and material and spiritual development than the continent of Europe, under its monarchies, for the last two thousand years.

WILLIAM II. AND ROOSEVELT

In drawing a comparison between the Kings, Emperors and Czars of Europe, and the Presidents of the United States, elected by the People, it will readily be seen that the latter as a rule are much superior to the former, and have been of far greater benefit to civilization and humanity. Among the former we have the defeated and deposed William II., King of Prussia, and Constitutional President of the German Empire with title of Emperor. He pretended at first to be the advocate of peace and wished to maintain peace in Europe. His entire pretensions were assumed to deceive other nations. He was continually preparing for war by building up a great army and navy. He was encouraged by the army and the aristocratic rulers of the twenty-five states of Germany, meeting secretly in the Bundesrath, behind locked doors, planning to deluge Europe in blood, fire and desolation to gain a world by conquest. The neutrality of Belgium was violated in pursuance of the teachings of Treitschke and Bernhardt, the great German imperialists. It was necessary to go to Paris through Belgium, so prepare to violate all treaties with Belgium. The emperor, so-called, showed a want of enlightenment and forced the hostility of England, and by sinking the Lusitania and other vessels carrying citizens of the United States, brought down the hostility of this country. His entire course of action showed his lack of common sense, executive ability and humanity. No President of the United States would have plunged his country into such unnecessary and aggressive war. Germany under its emperors and kings, has always stood for military display, and the Brigade with force, and has maintained a fixed Bureaucracy. The United States under its presidents has stood

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

for the development of personal liberty, humanity and civilization. It endeavors to carry out the rule which all governments ought to pursue: "to do unto other nations as you would that they should do unto the U. S." The German spirit was inherited and carried out to the limit by William II, while the spirit of the United States has been exemplified by many of our presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, to whom we are going to allude.

We call attention to the vast difference between William II and Theodore Roosevelt, who was in office during part of his reign. While the heir of the Hohenzollern dynasty was given every advantage, wealth and power could supply, **without any effort on his part to earn the same**, with castles, large estates and enormous income inherited as the king of Prussia and as president of the German federation, which was created for him by the work of Bismarck and former kings of Prussia, Theodore Roosevelt inherited no such position, or power, or wealth, but with advantages of education, to which he applied himself to gain and using privileges which he obtained under a great representative republic, advanced step by step, from a private citizen, until he reached the highest position in the gift of a free people, namely, the Presidency of the greatest republic known to all history; a far greater empire than the entire monarchies of Germany, Austria and Hungary combined. This position he held for seven and one-half years to the credit of himself and country. He was given the Noble peace prize for promoting the treaty which ended the Russo-Japanese war. He settled the dispute with Great Britain on the boundary of Alaska, without any serious consequences, through a joint commission proposed by him in 1903; also the Venezuela affair, by having it turned over to the Hague Court for arbitration. He settled the Japanese question in reference to a misunderstanding with the United States, by sending a fleet around the world, thus showing our preparedness for war. He also settled his difficulties arising during his administration with San Domingo, Cuba and Columbia; he was also instrumental in providing for the building of the Panama Canal. As a ruler with immense power given him, his administration was in many ways successful and beneficial to humanity, and civilization, while that of William II was destructive, not only to the prosperity and good of his own country, but disturbed the whole machinery pertaining to commerce and the social condition of the world, which has marked him as one of the most dangerous and inhuman rulers of history.

In writing a letter to ex-President Roosevelt during the war I sent him some proof slips of my book "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," asking him to kindly look them over

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

and make changes if he thought necessary, selecting principally those parts which referred to our government and the part Lincoln played during the Civil War. I also called his attention to the part I had taken in the election of Lincoln in 1864 and asked him if he could use portions of this book in the coming campaign. I signed the letter (which included portions of the above reference to William II.), Bartow A. Ulrich, a patriotic and loyal citizen of the United States, of German parentage, **but no hyphen**, to which he responded in the following manner: His reference to the extracts of my book is referred to in his letter using the word "**them**":

Metropolitan, 432 Fourth Ave., New York

Office of Theodore Roosevelt

May 29, 1916.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Three cheers for you!

There isn't any American whom I believe in more emphatically than the type of American you describe yourself as being; an American citizen of German parentage and no hyphen!

By George! It does me good to get such a letter from such an American, the grandson of the metaphysician who, as Professor of Jena, was a contemporary with Goethe and Schiller as well as Kant.

If I have anything to say about the campaign, I shall try my best to have **them** used.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR YATES, REGARDING A TREATISE ON GOVERNMENT, RECENTLY ISSUED—"BY A MEMBER OF THE ILLINOIS BAR." 1864.

State of Illinois, Executive Department,
Springfield, June 30, 1864.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I have just finished the reading of your manuscript, entitled, "A Short and Practical Treatise on Government, showing the Superiority of the United States Government over all others."

I have found it a very interesting, impartial and able exposition of the different forms of government, clearly defining and contrasting the structure and powers of each, and triumphantly vindicating the superiority of representative democracy over all others. The

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

analysis of the powers of the Constitution, and the distinction between "National" and "State" sovereignty, are concise, lucid and well defined.

No one can read your work without interest and profit; and at no time since the formation of the Government has there been such necessity for some plain treatise on its nature, workings, and adaptation to the wants of the people as now.

I can look to a wide circulation of your work among the people as potent for good, and I could wish to see it a hand-book in all the homesteads of the land. It will be a new stimulus to loyalty, a reminder of the good we are fighting for—nerving the popular mind and heart to hold on with unyielding purpose to a Government founded by the best men, in so much wisdom, and so full of benefactions to the people now, and of promise for posterity.

Truly yours,

RICHARD YATES.

Washington, June 4, 1866.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 31st ultimo, covering your interesting article on Mexico. Shall be very much pleased at seeing it published, and will have it so in some paper in this city.

Thanking you very much for the sympathy you evince for my country, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

Hildene, Manchester, Vt., November 1, 1916.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: I thank you very much for sending me a copy of your work, Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government, which I am now going through with great interest and pleasure. It records a very great number of important public matters in our history which have happened while you and I have been growing old, and many things of peculiar interest to myself. Of great value, too, is such a compilation as you have made of comments on our Constitution and the constitutions of other republics. I have not finished reading the book and as I cannot well do so at this time,

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

I do not delay the expression of my appreciation of your kindness in enabling me to have at hand a work which I expect to find of great use as a book of reference and instruction. Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Chicago, October 12, 1864.

B. A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Having recently received, for this Society's collection, a copy of your essay on "Government," through the attention of a friend, may I ask if you could oblige the Society with any number of copies for their distribution among the learned societies with which they are in relations of exchange.

I am sure the publication would be esteemed and carefully preserved.

Very respectfully, yours truly,

WM. BARRY, Librarian-Secretary.

ILLINOIS APPELLATE COURT.

Chicago, October 25, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: I have just seen your admirable historical work on "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and it gives me much pleasure to say to you that the Union League Club is very pleased to accept of the work so graciously presented and will add it to its collection of Lincoln literature.

Your work is a valued addition to Lincoln literature and as such will be highly esteemed by the club membership.

Most truly yours,

J. M. HOLDOM,
Chairman Library Committee,
Union League Club.

CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION.

July 18, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: On behalf of the Chicago Bar Association I wish to acknowledge receipt of the volume on "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" presented by you, and to express thanks for the same.

The courtesy of your gift was reported to the Board of Managers

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

at its recent meeting and will receive mention also in the annual report of the Librarian to the members of the Association. I shall examine the volume with interest.

Yours truly,

CARLOS P. SAWYER, Librarian.

EVANSTON (ILL.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

December 29, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: This Society has received through H. E. Chandler & Co., of Evanston, a copy of your volume, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," which we accept with grateful thanks.

We have placed this volume with our collection of other volumes on Lincoln, and you may be assured it will find many readers.

When you have an opportunity we should be glad to have you call in and inspect our collection.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK R. GROVER, President.

69 Cedar Street, November 14, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: I thank you heartily for your gift of a copy of your book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government."

I have so far been able merely to glance through it, as I have been very much occupied here in Chicago. But I shall take it home to Lawrenceville and give it a much more thorough examination. Its theme certainly is great, and doubtless I shall obtain much profit from it.

Your personal kindness is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

S. J. McPHERSON.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

Harrogate, Tenn., February 22, 1917.

A. C. McClurg & Company:

Gentlemen: During our Lincoln's birthday celebration we displayed a book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," by Bartow Ulrich. The imprint on this book reads: "Published by Chicago Legal News Company, and sold by A. C. McClurg & Company." I think that this book was the gift of your company, and

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

I should be much obliged if you will let me know if this understanding is correct in order that I may make proper acknowledgements. I wish also to make some mention of it in our little monthly, "The Mountain Herald."

Cordially yours,

WALTER E. BRYSON,

Secretary of the University.

WEBER'S WEEKLY.

November 16, 1916.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich: I have examined your work, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" and commend it highly.

That portion which relates to Mr. Lincoln and the early Republican party is especially interesting. Like you, I remember Mr. Lincoln personally and as you describe him, as impressively tall.

What you present in relation to Constitutional Government is valuable—particularly in these times in America when there is a disposition on the part of some to depart from Constitutional Government and take up with strange, untried methods, and to follow unknown gods.

Yours very truly,

GEO. W. WEBER.

917 Eastwood Ave.

Springfield, Ill., December 10, 1863.

B. A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I replied today to Mr. Russell, as follows:

"Mr. Ulrich read law in my office for some months. He is a young man of amiable disposition and good moral character. His family connections are among our most respectable citizens and move in the best society."

Hoping that you may make good progress in your legal pursuits and lay a good foundation for future usefulness and success, I remain,

Yours truly,

JAMES C. CONKLING.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Springfield, Ill., November 15, 1893.

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich is about to visit Europe to investigate the various forms of municipal government, with a view of draughting a new city charter for his native city, Chicago.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Mr. Ulrich is a gentleman of high character and standing, has always taken great interest in public affairs and has spent a great deal of time in the study of the most desirable form of municipal government. Any attention shown him while in Europe will be highly appreciated.

Very respectfully,

JOHN P. ALTGELD,
Governor of Illinois, U. S. A.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Springfield, Ill., July 27, 1864.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 23rd inst., and to inform you that I consent to your using my name as reference as requested. Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
RICHARD YATES, Governor.

FROM SECRETARY OF ARCHBISHOP OF CHICAGO.

Chicago, January 29, 1885.

Dear Sir: His grace, the Archbishop, begs to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 27th inst.

In reply to your question, I would state there are about 3,500 German Roman Catholic families in Chicago.

All of them, if they be good Catholics, cheerfully obey the teachings of God through the church. Our church always insists on the observance of the Sabbath (Sunday), and requires her members to abstain from any unnecessary servile work on such days. This with all good Catholics is a matter of conscience.

A happy sign of the times is to find people of every shade of religious opinion uniting with the Catholic church, to bring about a much needed reform in the present observance of the Lord's Day.

Yours truly,
P. D. GILL, Secretary.

HAMILTON CLUB

Chicago, July 20, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: We beg to acknowledge receipt of book entitled "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and note that you are the author of same. This will be a valuable addition to our Library and ask that you please accept the thanks of the Club for the kind donation.

Very truly yours,
ROYAL N. ALLEN, Secretary.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

JULIUS ROSENWALD.

Chicago, October 17, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Mr. Rosenwald asked me to thank you for the copy of your book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and to state that he has examined with interest the portions where you had placed marks and will look over the book a little more carefully at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. GRAVES,
Secretary to Julius Rosenwald.

PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL, INC.

Pine Mountain, Ky., April 7, 1917.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: We are so glad to have the Life of Abraham Lincoln that you sent us. It is a book which I am glad to have in the house for my older boys, and they are already finding out how to use the few we have here. We have been so interested in the type of mind one boy, Harley, showed recently. We had a present of some crockery from a firm which makes it for hotels, and among other things there were several serving dishes which had been made for the Hotel Bismarck. Harley has gone all through the available material at hand, for information about Prinz Bismarck, and now has the whole subject at his command.

You see this is very live material with which we are dealing, and you can understand that in this country, if you only have a school, "the young 'uns haint to make, but cry to go to it."

Faithfully yours,

KATHERINE PETTIT.

THE LIBRARY, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

West Point, New York, May 3, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: In behalf of the Library Board I beg to acknowledge, with many thanks, the copy of your "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" which you have kindly presented to this Library. I am,

Very truly yours,

J. E. RUNCIE, Librarian.

632 N. Central Ave.

Dear Mr. Uulrich: Thank you for the Lincoln book, which I hope will have a great sale, as I know it will deserve one.

I have been ill at home for twenty-two weeks, with heart failure.

With the highest regards,

JOHN McGOVERN.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

THE CHICAGO PRESS CLUB.

Chicago, March 21, 1917.

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Many thanks for the work on Abraham Lincoln. It is really a treasure.

Yours truly,

C. D. MICHAELS.

Financial Editor, Chicago Tribune..

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Paris, France, January 3, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Sir: Permit me to acknowledge with sincere thanks the receipt of a copy of your book recently published entitled, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government." From an examination of its pages, I am sure that when my time permits me I shall read with great pleasure and profit this very interesting volume. The manner of treating your subject is as attractive as it is unique and the incorporation of copies of so many personal letters and original manuscripts bearing the date of the times of which you write, gives the work an added value.

I note your desire to have the book translated into French and given publication in Europe. Through a friend who has some knowledge of the way of going about to secure men to do such work, I am finding out what can be done. I am loaning to him your book with copies of the press comments which you sent with the view of having him report if he can be of any assistance to you.

From a very brief talk with him, I would say, however, that the inducements which the French publishers offer to American and English authors are not very flattering in a financial way. However, I hope within a short time to be able to let you know what my author-friend is able to find out.

Again thanking you for your kindness in presenting to me this interesting book and wishing you success in its publication, I am, believe me,

Very truly yours,

WM. G. SHARP.

CONKLING & IRWIN, ATTORNEYS.

Springfield, Ill., June 6, 1917.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: I was very agreeably surprised to receive from you a complimentary copy of your work upon Mr. Lincoln and Constitutional Law. You were very kind, indeed, in remember-

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

ing me. What little I have been able to read of the volume since it came has been exceedingly interesting and I anticipate much pleasure in reading the remainder of the book.

You were one of the "big boys" when I was a small boy, and I still have very vivid remembrances of the visits I used to make to your mother's home here, and the kindnesses shown me by her and by you.

With very best wishes to you and yours, I remain,

Yours very respectfully,

CLINTON L. CONKLING.

(Monmouth, Ill., Daily)

Another book of permanent usefulness which has just come to the library is "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," by Bartow A. Ulrich of Chicago. Mr. Ulrich is an aged gentleman who knew Mr. Lincoln well, and whose family was well known to the Lincolns in Springfield. The author was educated at Heidelberg, and his two years' residence in Germany, covering a part of the Civil War period, brought him into intimate contact with Germans of the ruling class. He was often interviewed by Germans of influence, who in their exchange of views, declared that a republic like that of the United States was impracticable, and within fifty years would become an empire or some form of aristocracy. Mr. Ulrich denied the possibility, and has since employed his learning and a large collection of documentary resources, not to write another life of Lincoln, but to show what Lincoln accomplished in maintaining and promoting constitutional government in the world. The usefulness of the book he has produced is greatly enhanced by the comparisons it draws between the United States and the constitutional governments of Europe. The book reproduces the constitution of Switzerland, Prussia, Norway, Portugal and of the Ottoman Empire, adopted in 1908. It contains also useful excerpts from the constitutions of France and of China. The book is thus of invaluable interest to American readers on account of its large amount of source material.

L. E. R.

A TRUE-BORN AMERICAN.

(The Globe, London, October 20, 1917)

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich, who has included in one lengthy volume a "Life of Abraham Lincoln, and an Essay upon Constitutional

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Government" (Ouseley, 12s. 6d.), is a parallel to the merit of Defoe's "True-born Englishman." He is "a native-born American citizen of German parentage whose father came to New York in 1818 from Saxony," and whose mother was from Reval in Russia. He was living at Springfield when, at seven years of age, he first saw as a visitor to his father's house Abraham Lincoln, who became at once the hero of his life. As bearing upon current controversy regarding the Lincoln statue for London, we may quote the following sentence: "Had Mr. Lincoln employed a good barber and an artistic tailor, his large, strong body, like that of George Washington and Czar Alexander II., would not have seemed so awkward as it looked in ready-made clothes which did not fit."

With regard to Mr. Ulrich's second theme, we may say there is nothing hyphenated about him.

"I am loyal to the German people as a race, but not to the twenty-two monarchs, great and small, who with a select and limited number of war lords dominate now the great mass of the people of the German empire. I am not in sympathy with the monarchical system prevailing in Germany, which is the antithesis of republicanism, and which confines all real power in the hands of an hereditary aristocracy. It is my belief that if Frederick, the father of the present Kaiser, had been the ruler today this unprecedented war would not have occurred."

He proceeds to "an hyphenated invocation" of "departed spirits of once honored and adored citizens of the land of my forefathers—the German fatherland—who enlightened the world through the brilliance and superiority of your intellects—the soul of real German culture," and he calls upon them from Goethe back to Kant, to "counteract the false Machiavellan philosophy of Heinrich von Treitschke and Von Bernhardi. He holds that a victory of Germany would not promote real culture; it would be efficiency without liberty; and he does not care to extend this system or encourage its extension directly or indirectly." He draws the true distinction between real and colorable naturalization, saying that men of his race are "not German-Americans, but American citizens of German parentage."

I called on President Lincoln at the White House, Feb. 1, 1865, and after he had read over the different letters I had from senators and the governor of Illinois, Richard Yates, he folded up my papers and wrote on the back of them, addressing them to the Secretary of

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

State, Hon. William H. Seward, stating "Will the Secretary of State please see and hear the bearer, Mr. Ulrich, and oblige him if he conveniently can? He is a young man residing in the place of my residence in Springfield and of a most respectable family."

A. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN REMINISCENCES.

(Boston Christian Science Monitor, October 26, 1916)

Mr. Ulrich grew up in Springfield, Ill., and recalls vividly the statesman whom he has come to reverence and about whom he writes in this book, the most valuable part of which is in the earlier chapters, wherein are his reminiscences of Lincoln, Douglas, Trumbull and the founders of the Republican party.

LINCOLN IN BOY'S EYES.

REMINISCENCES OF A LAD IN SPRINGFIELD SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

(Boston, Mass., Transcript, December 13, 1916)

In the biographical portion, the author has been able to supply some new material, although the greater part covers familiar ground. On the personal side we have some new and intimate mental pictures of Lincoln which deserve perpetuation. In one of these the scene was at Springfield, Ill., in 1845, in the home of the author's mother; the narrator was a wondering boy of seven years. The occasion was a social gathering. Dancing was the rage there and, as one of the male guests "had failed to come," the boy Bartow was dragged almost by force from his bed to complete a quadrille. He was "not in the best of tempers," but he responded to the parental demand. We are told that Lincoln "had a very charming manner and was really the life of the party, and made all the guests laugh with his inexhaustible fund of stories. . . . He had one of the most agreeable smiles I have ever seen."

Another personal reminiscence, vouched for an hitherto unpublished and contained in the narrative of Peter Vredenburg, a boy friend of Ulrich's, has to do with the prosecution of a man named Ross, for bigamy, the victim being an innocent young girl for whom Lincoln appeared as counsel. "I don't think any one in court was more grieved over the case than Mr. Lincoln, and his appearance left a lasting impression on my mind," says the narrator. Ross was convicted and sent to the penitentiary for the maximum time.

The author controverts James Bryce's published statement that

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

for many years after Lincoln had gained some legal practice there was "no one for him to mix with except the petty practitioners of a petty town." The story of James Shield's challenge to Lincoln to fight a duel is told at considerable length, and of Lincoln's acceptance and choice of weapons, large cavalry swords, the contestants to be limited in their movements and each confined to the bounds of a plank ten feet long and nine to twelve inches broad. Lincoln said to a friend: "I didn't want to kill Shields and felt sure I could disarm him, having had about a month to learn the broad-sword exercise; furthermore, I didn't want the d—d fellow to kill me, which I rather think he would have done if we had selected pistols."

Mr. Ulrich draws liberally upon the newspaper files of the time for reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and how they were brought about. The organization of the Republican party in 1854 and the declination of Lincoln to be a candidate for governor of Illinois in 1856 are reviewed. The author recalls the Chicago Wigwam of 1860 and Lincoln's nomination for President, Seward having failed by sixty votes to be nominated on the first ballot. Many pages are devoted to reviewing the war period and, of course, nothing is added to history. Reproducing a newspaper account of the shooting of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria, Va., the author also incorporates a short play which he wrote and dedicated to the event and a poem of his own on the same.

In 1863 young Ulrich was a law student at Michigan University, having previously studied at Heidelberg, Germany. He had been a student of our government as compared with that of other nations and his Michigan thesis of 1863 was made the basis for the second part of the present work. His writings on constitutional government appear to lack coherency and logical sequence. There is a mass of non-related matter and an unnecessary quantity of historical documents either given in full or reviewed in detail. H. S. K.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(Michigan Alumnus)

Those who have been present at the annual reunions of the Chicago Alumni Association of this University during the last quarter century and more will recall with pleasure the fine face

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

and head framed with silvered hair of one of the most constant attendants of those occasions. It is the face of Bartow A. Ulrich, '64, the author of this book. Though of German descent, the grandson of a professor in one of the great German universities, Mr. Ulrich is a loyal American to the core, devoted to constitutional government and grateful for the blessings of liberty guaranteed to him in this country. His case is a shining example in a time of national peril and his devotion and loyalty to American ideals and American interests may well be emulated by all of us. It is primarily this lifelong interest in American government which led Mr. Ulrich to write the present book, and it is his hope that it may serve to strengthen the confidence of all of us in constitutional, democratic government.

Part I, consisting of fifteen chapters, is devoted to a sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln, whom in early youth the author had known and admired. This brief biography is largely personal in character and touches sympathetically upon the conduct, personality and character of the great emancipator.

Part II, consisting of thirteen chapters, is given over to a discussion of constitutional government, the greatest part of this treatment being naturally devoted to American government. Chapters I to IV inclusive of this portion, however, consist of a brief comparative study of constitutional government, concluding with the fourth chapter entitled, "The New Representative Democracy." Chapters X, XI and XII inclusive contain brief historical discussions of the development of democratic government in Switzerland, Portugal and France. And Chapter XIII contains translations into English with brief historical introductions of the constitutions of Norway, China, Japan, Imperial Germany, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, New Zealand, Iceland and Belgium.

The author has devoted a long period of time and effort to the preparation of the work, which contains a large amount of material which will be useful to students of democratic government.

H. M. B.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

By BARTOW A. ULRICH.

(Chicago Legal News)

The author of this work has performed a two-fold service; he has given a first-hand study of Abraham Lincoln, whom he remembers from his Springfield (Ill.) days and in whose campaign for the presidency he was vitally interested, and he has made a study of

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

constitutional government that is especially timely today even though it is based on a university thesis which he wrote in 1864 and which was used as a campaign document after Lincoln's second renomination.

Imbued with the liberalism that inspired such of his fellow Americans of German descent as Carl Schurz, Mr. Ulrich is a firm believer in the form of government adopted by the United States through its Constitution. He traces the difficulties that beset the working of that instrument through the Dred Scott decision and the Civil War and he compares it in detail to a number of other constitutional instruments. This, the second part of the work, will be found a most valuable gathering together of material bearing upon constitutional government and an interesting history of how Lincoln regarded the Constitution and of how it worked during and after the Civil War.

But the first part of the book contains a more personal picture of the war President, based on the author's own recollection in part and in part upon that of contemporary writers. Robert Lincoln has permitted the author to use a most interesting reproduction of the last painting of President Lincoln, the original being now in his son's possession, and he also reproduces the photograph taken in 1858 and now in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

NEW BOOK ON LINCOLN.

(Chicago Herald, December 2, 1916)

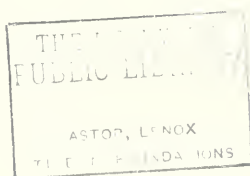
Mr. Ulrich, a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and a careful scholar, in this interesting volume has embodied intimate Lincoln recollections, much important historical information, and, in the department devoted to "Constitutional Government," unique and searching constitutional facts, examples and comparisons. Several proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, dealing with "The Federal Control Over Child Labor," "Female Suffrage" and "The Referendum" are considered. Mr. Ulrich brings to his work a rich quota of sympathetic research balanced by keen powers of analysis and a truly legal mind.

(New York Times, January 21, 1917)

Mr. Ulrich is an American of German parentage who long practiced law in Chicago, but lately has devoted himself much to writing upon questions of law, politics, and government. As a boy he knew Lincoln, who was a frequent visitor in his home in Springfield, and in



THE PRESS CLUB OF CHICAGO, WAR COUNCIL, 1915-1917



REVIEWS AND LETTERS

with the kings, emperors, princes, warrior heroes, etc., who have created at various times a counterpart of hell on the continent of Europe.

With the passing away of the dominating, tyrannical and inhuman monarchs of Germany, Austria, Russia and other dynasties, liberty and justice and peace may have a spiritual and local abiding place in Europe, so that the people can enjoy freedom never known before.

The United States of America during the one hundred and forty-two years from the adoption of the first constitution has accomplished more for civilization, humanity and material and spiritual development than the continent of Europe, under its monarchies, for the last two thousand years.

WILLIAM II. AND ROOSEVELT

In drawing a comparison between the Kings, Emperors and Czars of Europe, and the Presidents of the United States, elected by the People, it will readily be seen that the latter as a rule are much superior to the former, and have been of far greater benefit to civilization and humanity. Among the former we have the defeated and deposed William II., King of Prussia, and Constitutional President of the German Empire with title of Emperor. He pretended at first to be the advocate of peace and wished to maintain peace in Europe. His entire pretensions were assumed to deceive other nations. He was continually preparing for war by building up a great army and navy. He was encouraged by the army and the aristocratic rulers of the twenty-five states of Germany, meeting secretly in the Bundesrath, behind locked doors, planning to deluge Europe in blood, fire and desolation to gain a world by conquest. The neutrality of Belgium was violated in pursuance of the teachings of Treitschke and Bernhardi, the great German imperialists. It was necessary to go to Paris through Belgium, so prepare to violate all treaties with Belgium. The emperor, so-called, showed a want of enlightenment and forced the hostility of England, and by sinking the *Lusitania* and other vessels carrying citizens of the United States, brought down the hostility of this country. His entire course of action showed his lack of common sense, executive ability and humanity. No President of the United States would have plunged his country into such unnecessary and aggressive war. Germany under its emperors and kings, has always stood for military display, and the Brigade with force, and has maintained a fixed Bureaucracy. The United States under its presidents has stood

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

for the development of personal liberty, humanity and civilization. It endeavors to carry out the rule which all governments ought to pursue: "to do unto other nations as you would that they should do unto the U. S." The German spirit was inherited and carried out to the limit by William II, while the spirit of the United States has been exemplified by many of our presidents, including Theodore Roosevelt, to whom we are going to allude.

We call attention to the vast difference between William II and Theodore Roosevelt, who was in office during part of his reign. While the heir of the Hohenzollern dynasty was given every advantage, wealth and power could supply, **without any effort on his part to earn the same**, with castles, large estates and enormous income inherited as the king of Prussia and as president of the German federation, which was created for him by the work of Bismarck and former kings of Prussia, Theodore Roosevelt inherited no such position, or power, or wealth, but with advantages of education, to which he applied himself to gain and using privileges which he obtained under a great representative republic, advanced step by step, from a private citizen, until he reached the highest position in the gift of a free people, namely, the Presidency of the greatest republic known to all history; a far greater empire than the entire monarchies of Germany, Austria and Hungary combined. This position he held for seven and one-half years to the credit of himself and country. He was given the Noble peace prize for promoting the treaty which ended the Russo-Japanese war. He settled the dispute with Great Britain on the boundary of Alaska, without any serious consequences, through a joint commission proposed by him in 1903; also the Venezuela affair, by having it turned over to the Hague Court for arbitration. He settled the Japanese question in reference to a misunderstanding with the United States, by sending a fleet around the world, thus showing our preparedness for war. He also settled his difficulties arising during his administration with San Domingo, Cuba and Columbia; he was also instrumental in providing for the building of the Panama Canal. As a ruler with immense power given him, his administration was in many ways successful and beneficial to humanity, and civilization, while that of William II was destructive, not only to the prosperity and good of his own country, but disturbed the whole machinery pertaining to commerce and the social condition of the world, which has marked him as one of the most dangerous and inhuman rulers of history.

In writing a letter to ex-President Roosevelt during the war I sent him some proof slips of my book "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," asking him to kindly look them over

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

and make changes if he thought necessary, selecting principally those parts which referred to our government and the part Lincoln played during the Civil War. I also called his attention to the part I had taken in the election of Lincoln in 1864 and asked him if he could use portions of this book in the coming campaign. I signed the letter (which included portions of the above reference to William H.), Bartow A. Ulrich, a patriotic and loyal citizen of the United States, of German parentage, **but no hyphen**, to which he responded in the following manner: His reference to the extracts of my book is referred to in his letter using the word "**them**":

Metropolitan, 432 Fourth Ave., New York

Office of Theodore Roosevelt

May 29, 1916.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Three cheers for you!

There isn't any American whom I believe in more emphatically than the type of American you describe yourself as being; an American citizen of German parentage and no hyphen!

By George! It does me good to get such a letter from such an American, the grandson of the metaphysician who, as Professor of Jena, was a contemporary with Goethe and Schiller as well as Kant.

If I have anything to say about the campaign, I shall try my best to have **them** used.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR YATES, REGARDING A TREATISE ON
GOVERNMENT, RECENTLY ISSUED—"BY A MEMBER OF THE
ILLINOIS BAR." 1864.

State of Illinois, Executive Department,
Springfield, June 30, 1864.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I have just finished the reading of your manuscript, entitled, "A Short and Practical Treatise on Government, showing the Superiority of the United States Government over all others."

I have found it a very interesting, impartial and able exposition of the different forms of government, clearly defining and contrasting the structure and powers of each, and triumphantly vindicating the superiority of representative democracy over all others. The

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

analysis of the powers of the Constitution, and the distinction between "National" and "State" sovereignty, are concise, lucid and well defined.

No one can read your work without interest and profit; and at no time since the formation of the Government has there been such necessity for some plain treatise on its nature, workings, and adaptation to the wants of the people as now.

I can look to a wide circulation of your work among the people as potent for good, and I could wish to see it a hand-book in all the homesteads of the land. It will be a new stimulus to loyalty, a reminder of the good we are fighting for—nerving the popular mind and heart to hold on with unyielding purpose to a Government founded by the best men, in so much wisdom, and so full of benefactions to the people now, and of promise for posterity.

Truly yours,

RICHARD YATES.

Washington, June 4, 1866.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 31st ultimo, covering your interesting article on Mexico. Shall be very much pleased at seeing it published, and will have it so in some paper in this city.

Thanking you very much for the sympathy you evince for my country, I remain, Dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. ROMERO.

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

Hildene, Manchester, Vt., November 1, 1916.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: I thank you very much for sending me a copy of your work, Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government, which I am now going through with great interest and pleasure. It records a very great number of important public matters in our history which have happened while you and I have been growing old, and many things of peculiar interest to myself. Of great value, too, is such a compilation as you have made of comments on our Constitution and the constitutions of other republics. I have not finished reading the book and as I cannot well do so at this time,

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

I do not delay the expression of my appreciation of your kindness in enabling me to have at hand a work which I expect to find of great use as a book of reference and instruction. Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

ROBERT T. LINCOLN.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Chicago, October 12, 1864.

B. A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: Having recently received, for this Society's collection, a copy of your essay on "Government," through the attention of a friend, may I ask if you could oblige the Society with any number of copies for their distribution among the learned societies with which they are in relations of exchange.

I am sure the publication would be esteemed and carefully preserved.

Very respectfully, yours truly,

WM. BARRY, Librarian-Secretary.

ILLINOIS APPELLATE COURT.

Chicago, October 25, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: I have just seen your admirable historical work on "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and it gives me much pleasure to say to you that the Union League Club is very pleased to accept of the work so graciously presented and will add it to its collection of Lincoln literature.

Your work is a valued addition to Lincoln literature and as such will be highly esteemed by the club membership.

Most truly yours,

J. M. HOLDOM,
Chairman Library Committee,
Union League Club.

CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION.

July 18, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: On behalf of the Chicago Bar Association I wish to acknowledge receipt of the volume on "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" presented by you, and to express thanks for the same.

The courtesy of your gift was reported to the Board of Managers

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

at its recent meeting and will receive mention also in the annual report of the Librarian to the members of the Association. I shall examine the volume with interest.

Yours truly,

CARLOS P. SAWYER, Librarian.

EVANSTON (ILL.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

December 29, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: This Society has received through H. E. Chandler & Co., of Evanston, a copy of your volume, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," which we accept with grateful thanks.

We have placed this volume with our collection of other volumes on Lincoln, and you may be assured it will find many readers.

When you have an opportunity we should be glad to have you call in and inspect our collection.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK R. GROVER, President.

69 Cedar Street, November 14, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: I thank you heartily for your gift of a copy of your book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government."

I have so far been able merely to glance through it, as I have been very much occupied here in Chicago. But I shall take it home to Lawrenceville and give it a much more thorough examination. Its theme certainly is great, and doubtless I shall obtain much profit from it.

Your personal kindness is appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

S. J. McPHERSON.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY.

Harrogate, Tenn., February 22, 1917.

A. C. McClurg & Company:

Gentlemen: During our Lincoln's birthday celebration we displayed a book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," by Bartow Ulrich. The imprint on this book reads: "Published by Chicago Legal News Company, and sold by A. C. McClurg & Company." I think that this book was the gift of your company, and

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

I should be much obliged if you will let me know if this understanding is correct in order that I may make proper acknowledgements. I wish also to make some mention of it in our little monthly, "The Mountain Herald."

Cordially yours,

WALTER E. BRYSON,

Secretary of the University.

WEBER'S WEEKLY.

November 16, 1916.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich: I have examined your work, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" and commend it highly.

That portion which relates to Mr. Lincoln and the early Republican party is especially interesting. Like you, I remember Mr. Lincoln personally and as you describe him, as impressively tall.

What you present in relation to Constitutional Government is valuable—particularly in these times in America when there is a disposition on the part of some to depart from Constitutional Government and take up with strange, untried methods, and to follow unknown gods.

Yours very truly,

GEO. W. WEBER.

917 Eastwood Ave.

Springfield, Ill., December 10, 1863.

B. A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Dear Sir: I replied today to Mr. Russell, as follows:

"Mr. Ulrich read law in my office for some months. He is a young man of amiable disposition and good moral character. His family connections are among our most respectable citizens and move in the best society."

Hoping that you may make good progress in your legal pursuits and lay a good foundation for future usefulness and success, I remain,

Yours truly,

JAMES C. CONKLING.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Springfield, Ill., November 15, 1893.

To Whom It May Concern:

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich is about to visit Europe to investigate the various forms of municipal government, with a view of draughting a new city charter for his native city, Chicago.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Mr. Ulrich is a gentleman of high character and standing, has always taken great interest in public affairs and has spent a great deal of time in the study of the most desirable form of municipal government. Any attention shown him while in Europe will be highly appreciated.

Very respectfully,

JOHN P. ALTGELD,

Governor of Illinois, U. S. A.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Springfield, Ill., July 27, 1864.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

Sir. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 23rd inst., and to inform you that I consent to your using my name as reference as requested. Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD YATES, Governor.

FROM SECRETARY OF ARCHBISHOP OF CHICAGO.

Chicago, January 29, 1885.

Dear Sir: His grace, the Archbishop, begs to acknowledge receipt of your favor of the 27th inst.

In reply to your question, I would state there are about 3,500 German Roman Catholic families in Chicago.

All of them, if they be good Catholics, cheerfully obey the teachings of God through the church. Our church always insists on the observance of the Sabbath (Sunday), and requires her members to abstain from any unnecessary servile work on such days. This with all good Catholics is a matter of conscience.

A happy sign of the times is to find people of every shade of religious opinion uniting with the Catholic church, to bring about a much needed reform in the present observance of the Lord's Day.

Yours truly,

P. D. GILL, Secretary.

HAMILTON CLUB

Chicago, July 20, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: We beg to acknowledge receipt of book entitled "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and note that you are the author of same. This will be a valuable addition to our Library and ask that you please accept the thanks of the Club for the kind donation.

Very truly yours,

ROYAL N. ALLEN, Secretary.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

JULIUS ROSENWALD.

Chicago, October 17, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Mr. Rosenwald asked me to thank you for the copy of your book, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," and to state that he has examined with interest the portions where you had placed marks and will look over the book a little more carefully at a later date.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. GRAVES,
Secretary to Julius Rosenwald.

PINE MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT SCHOOL, INC.

Pine Mountain, Ky., April 7, 1917.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: We are so glad to have the Life of Abraham Lincoln that you sent us. It is a book which I am glad to have in the house for my older boys, and they are already finding out how to use the few we have here. We have been so interested in the type of mind one boy, Harley, showed recently. We had a present of some crockery from a firm which makes it for hotels, and among other things there were several serving dishes which had been made for the Hotel Bismarck. Harley has gone all through the available material at hand, for information about Prinz Bismarck, and now has the whole subject at his command.

You see this is very live material with which we are dealing, and you can understand that in this country, if you only have a school, "the young 'uns haint to make, but cry to go to it."

Faithfully yours,

KATHERINE PETTIT.

THE LIBRARY, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

West Point, New York, May 3, 1917.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

Dear Sir: In behalf of the Library Board I beg to acknowledge, with many thanks, the copy of your "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" which you have kindly presented to this Library. I am,

Very truly yours,

J. E. RUNCIE, Librarian.

632 N. Central Ave.

Dear Mr. Uulrich: Thank you for the Lincoln book, which I hope will have a great sale, as I know it will deserve one.

I have been ill at home for twenty-two weeks, with heart failure.

With the highest regards,

JOHN McGOVERN.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

THE CHICAGO PRESS CLUB.

Chicago, March 21, 1917.

Dear Mr. Ulrich: Many thanks for the work on Abraham Lincoln. It is really a treasure.

Yours truly,

C. D. MICHAELS.

Financial Editor, Chicago Tribune.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Paris, France, January 3, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich:

My Dear Sir: Permit me to acknowledge with sincere thanks the receipt of a copy of your book recently published entitled, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government." From an examination of its pages, I am sure that when my time permits me I shall read with great pleasure and profit this very interesting volume. The manner of treating your subject is as attractive as it is unique and the incorporation of copies of so many personal letters and original manuscripts bearing the date of the times of which you write, gives the work an added value.

I note your desire to have the book translated into French and given publication in Europe. Through a friend who has some knowledge of the way of going about to secure men to do such work, I am finding out what can be done. I am loaning to him your book with copies of the press comments which you sent with the view of having him report if he can be of any assistance to you.

From a very brief talk with him, I would say, however, that the inducements which the French publishers offer to American and English authors are not very flattering in a financial way. However, I hope within a short time to be able to let you know what my author-friend is able to find out.

Again thanking you for your kindness in presenting to me this interesting book and wishing you success in its publication, I am, believe me,

Very truly yours,

WM. G. SHARP.

CONKLING & IRWIN, ATTORNEYS.

Springfield, Ill., June 6, 1917.

Bartow A. Ulrich, Esq.:

My Dear Mr. Ulrich: I was very agreeably surprised to receive from you a complimentary copy of your work upon Mr. Lincoln and Constitutional Law. You were very kind, indeed, in remember-

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

ing me. What little I have been able to read of the volume since it came has been exceedingly interesting and I anticipate much pleasure in reading the remainder of the book.

You were one of the "big boys" when I was a small boy, and I still have very vivid remembrances of the visits I used to make to your mother's home here, and the kindnesses shown me by her and by you.

With very best wishes to you and yours, I remain,

Yours very respectfully,

CLINTON L. CONKLING.

(Monmouth, Ill., Daily)

Another book of permanent usefulness which has just come to the library is "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," by Bartow A. Ulrich of Chicago. Mr. Ulrich is an aged gentleman who knew Mr. Lincoln well, and whose family was well known to the Lincolns in Springfield. The author was educated at Heidelberg, and his two years' residence in Germany, covering a part of the Civil War period, brought him into intimate contact with Germans of the ruling class. He was often interviewed by Germans of influence, who in their exchange of views, declared that a republic like that of the United States was impracticable, and within fifty years would become an empire or some form of aristocracy. Mr. Ulrich denied the possibility, and has since employed his learning and a large collection of documentary resources, not to write another life of Lincoln, but to show what Lincoln accomplished in maintaining and promoting constitutional government in the world. The usefulness of the book he has produced is greatly enhanced by the comparisons it draws between the United States and the constitutional governments of Europe. The book reproduces the constitution of Switzerland, Prussia, Norway, Portugal and of the Ottoman Empire, adopted in 1908. It contains also useful excerpts from the constitutions of France and of China. The book is thus of invaluable interest to American readers on account of its large amount of source material.

L. E. R.

A TRUE-BORN AMERICAN.

(The Globe, London, October 20, 1917)

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich, who has included in one lengthy volume a "Life of Abraham Lincoln, and an Essay upon Constitutional

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Government" (Ouseley, 12s. 6d.), is a parallel to the merit of Defoe's "True-born Englishman." He is "a native-born American citizen of German parentage whose father came to New York in 1818 from Saxony," and whose mother was from Reval in Russia. He was living at Springfield when, at seven years of age, he first saw as a visitor to his father's house Abraham Lincoln, who became at once the hero of his life. As bearing upon current controversy regarding the Lincoln statue for London, we may quote the following sentence: "Had Mr. Lincoln employed a good barber and an artistic tailor, his large, strong body, like that of George Washington and Czar Alexander II., would not have seemed so awkward as it looked in ready-made clothes which did not fit."

With regard to Mr. Ulrich's second theme, we may say there is nothing hyphenated about him.

"I am loyal to the German people as a race, but not to the twenty-two monarchs, great and small, who with a select and limited number of war lords dominate now the great mass of the people of the German empire. I am not in sympathy with the monarchical system prevailing in Germany, which is the antithesis of republicanism, and which confines all real power in the hands of an hereditary aristocracy. It is my belief that if Frederick, the father of the present Kaiser, had been the ruler today this unprecedented war would not have occurred."

He proceeds to "an hyphenated invocation" of "departed spirits of once honored and adored citizens of the land of my forefathers—the German fatherland—who enlightened the world through the brilliance and superiority of your intellects—the soul of real German culture," and he calls upon them from Goethe back to Kant, to "counteract the false Machiavellan philosophy of Heinrich von Treitschke and Von Bernhardi. He holds that a victory of Germany would not promote real culture; it would be efficiency without liberty; and he does not care to extend this system or encourage its extension directly or indirectly." He draws the true distinction between real and colorable naturalization, saying that men of his race are "not German-Americans, but American citizens of German parentage."

I called on President Lincoln at the White House, Feb. 1, 1865, and after he had read over the different letters I had from senators and the governor of Illinois, Richard Yates, he folded up my papers and wrote on the back of them, addressing them to the Secretary of

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

State, Hon. William H. Seward, stating "Will the Secretary of State please see and hear the bearer, Mr. Ulrich, and oblige him if he conveniently can? He is a young man residing in the place of my residence in Springfield and of a most respectable family."

A. LINCOLN.

LINCOLN REMINISCENCES.

(Boston Christian Science Monitor, October 26, 1916)

Mr. Ulrich grew up in Springfield, Ill., and recalls vividly the statesman whom he has come to reverence and about whom he writes in this book, the most valuable part of which is in the earlier chapters, wherein are his reminiscences of Lincoln, Douglas, Trumbull and the founders of the Republican party.

LINCOLN IN BOY'S EYES.

REMINISCENCES OF A LAD IN SPRINGFIELD SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

(Boston, Mass., Transcript, December 13, 1916)

In the biographical portion, the author has been able to supply some new material, although the greater part covers familiar ground. On the personal side we have some new and intimate mental pictures of Lincoln which deserve perpetuation. In one of these the scene was at Springfield, Ill., in 1845, in the home of the author's mother; the narrator was a wondering boy of seven years. The occasion was a social gathering. Dancing was the rage there and, as one of the male guests "had failed to come," the boy Bartow was dragged almost by force from his bed to complete a quadrille. He was "not in the best of tempers," but he responded to the parental demand. We are told that Lincoln "had a very charming manner and was really the life of the party, and made all the guests laugh with his inexhaustible fund of stories. . . . He had one of the most agreeable smiles I have ever seen."

Another personal reminiscence, vouched for an hitherto unpublished and contained in the narrative of Peter Vredenburg, a boy friend of Ulrich's, has to do with the prosecution of a man named Ross, for bigamy, the victim being an innocent young girl for whom Lincoln appeared as counsel. "I don't think any one in court was more grieved over the case than Mr. Lincoln, and his appearance left a lasting impression on my mind," says the narrator. Ross was convicted and sent to the penitentiary for the maximum time.

The author controverts James Bryce's published statement that

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

for many years after Lincoln had gained some legal practice there was "no one for him to mix with except the petty practitioners of a petty town." The story of James Shield's challenge to Lincoln to fight a duel is told at considerable length, and of Lincoln's acceptance and choice of weapons, large cavalry swords, the contestants to be limited in their movements and each confined to the bounds of a plank ten feet long and nine to twelve inches broad. Lincoln said to a friend: "I didn't want to kill Shields and felt sure I could disarm him, having had about a month to learn the broad-sword exercise; furthermore, I didn't want the d—d fellow to kill me, which I rather think he would have done if we had selected pistols."

Mr. Ulrich draws liberally upon the newspaper files of the time for reports of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and how they were brought about. The organization of the Republican party in 1854 and the declination of Lincoln to be a candidate for governor of Illinois in 1856 are reviewed. The author recalls the Chicago Wigwam of 1860 and Lincoln's nomination for President, Seward having failed by sixty votes to be nominated on the first ballot. Many pages are devoted to reviewing the war period and, of course, nothing is added to history. Reproducing a newspaper account of the shooting of Colonel Ellsworth at Alexandria, Va., the author also incorporates a short play which he wrote and dedicated to the event and a poem of his own on the same.

In 1863 young Ulrich was a law student at Michigan University, having previously studied at Heidelberg, Germany. He had been a student of our government as compared with that of other nations and his Michigan thesis of 1863 was made the basis for the second part of the present work. His writings on constitutional government appear to lack coherency and logical sequence. There is a mass of non-related matter and an unnecessary quantity of historical documents either given in full or reviewed in detail. H. S. K.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(Michigan Alumnus)

Those who have been present at the annual reunions of the Chicago Alumni Association of this University during the last quarter century and more will recall with pleasure the fine face

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

and head framed with silvered hair of one of the most constant attendants of those occasions. It is the face of Bartow A. Ulrich, '64, the author of this book. Though of German descent, the grandson of a professor in one of the great German universities, Mr. Ulrich is a loyal American to the core, devoted to constitutional government and grateful for the blessings of liberty guaranteed to him in this country. His case is a shining example in a time of national peril and his devotion and loyalty to American ideals and American interests may well be emulated by all of us. It is primarily this lifelong interest in American government which led Mr. Ulrich to write the present book, and it is his hope that it may serve to strengthen the confidence of all of us in constitutional, democratic government.

Part I, consisting of fifteen chapters, is devoted to a sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln, whom in early youth the author had known and admired. This brief biography is largely personal in character and touches sympathetically upon the conduct, personality and character of the great emancipator.

Part II, consisting of thirteen chapters, is given over to a discussion of constitutional government, the greatest part of this treatment being naturally devoted to American government. Chapters I to IV inclusive of this portion, however, consist of a brief comparative study of constitutional government, concluding with the fourth chapter entitled, "The New Representative Democracy." Chapters X, XI and XII inclusive contain brief historical discussions of the development of democratic government in Switzerland, Portugal and France. And Chapter XIII contains translations into English with brief historical introductions of the constitutions of Norway, China, Japan, Imperial Germany, Persia, the Ottoman Empire, New Zealand, Iceland and Belgium.

The author has devoted a long period of time and effort to the preparation of the work, which contains a large amount of material which will be useful to students of democratic government.

H. M. B.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

By BARTOW A. ULRICH.

(Chicago Legal News)

The author of this work has performed a two-fold service; he has given a first-hand study of Abraham Lincoln, whom he remembers from his Springfield (Ill.) days and in whose campaign for the presidency he was vitally interested, and he has made a study of

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

constitutional government that is especially timely today even though it is based on a university thesis which he wrote in 1864 and which was used as a campaign document after Lincoln's second renomination.

Imbued with the liberalism that inspired such of his fellow Americans of German descent as Carl Schurz, Mr. Ulrich is a firm believer in the form of government adopted by the United States through its Constitution. He traces the difficulties that beset the working of that instrument through the Dred Scott decision and the Civil War and he compares it in detail to a number of other constitutional instruments. This, the second part of the work, will be found a most valuable gathering together of material bearing upon constitutional government and an interesting history of how Lincoln regarded the Constitution and of how it worked during and after the Civil War.

But the first part of the book contains a more personal picture of the war President, based on the author's own recollection in part and in part upon that of contemporary writers. Robert Lincoln has permitted the author to use a most interesting reproduction of the last painting of President Lincoln, the original being now in his son's possession, and he also reproduces the photograph taken in 1858 and now in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society.

NEW BOOK ON LINCOLN.

(Chicago Herald, December 2, 1916)

Mr. Ulrich, a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln and a careful scholar, in this interesting volume has embodied intimate Lincoln recollections, much important historical information, and, in the department devoted to "Constitutional Government," unique and searching constitutional facts, examples and comparisons. Several proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, dealing with "The Federal Control Over Child Labor," "Female Suffrage" and "The Referendum" are considered. Mr. Ulrich brings to his work a rich quota of sympathetic research balanced by keen powers of analysis and a truly legal mind.

(New York Times, January 21, 1917)

Mr. Ulrich is an American of German parentage who long practiced law in Chicago, but lately has devoted himself much to writing upon questions of law, politics, and government. As a boy he knew Lincoln, who was a frequent visitor in his home in Springfield, and in



BARTOW A. ULRICH. 1916

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

his young manhood he wrote a "Treatise on Government," which was used as a campaign document in the Presidential campaign in 1864.

Mr. Ulrich's present large volume owes its existence to his belief in the highly important part Lincoln played in proving the power and utility of a written constitution in a republic or representative democracy and its stability when assailed. The work is in two sections, the first devoted to presenting a sort of composite picture of Lincoln, and the second to a study of constitutional government in this country. The first section combines the author's recollections of Lincoln, with quotations from the writings of others concerning him, anecdotes about him, narratives of important occasions in his life, selections from his letters, and other matter. He tells about being awakened and dragged from his bed by an older sister when a lad in his family's home in Springfield in order that he might take the place in a quadrille of a guest who had failed to come, and of being much impressed by Mr. Lincoln, who was one of the guests. He says that Lincoln had a very charming manner and was the life of the party.

In the second section, which fills two-thirds of the book's 400 pages, the author compares different forms of government, studies the development of our own, pays especial attention to the amendments to the Constitution, and makes an exposition of the constitutional Governments of Switzerland and of France. In the final chapter there is some consideration of the history and constitutions of several nations in Europe, Asia and Australia. The author thinks that Germans in this country should not make hyphenated citizens of themselves, but, while loyal in every way to the United States, should endeavor to promote the study of the German language and literature.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

A book of real merit to the student as well as to the layman, entitled "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," has found a deserved place in some of the best patronized libraries in the country.

Bartow A. Ulrich is the author of this quite remarkable book which not alone furnishes many new sidelights on the personality and character of the great martyr-president, but presents us with a history of democratic government by constitution. Observers of current history and historians of the future will find it more than merely useful, especially in the parts that are concerned with President Lincoln, for these are drawn out of an accurate and long memory.

Mr. Ulrich, who spent many years on this creditable historical

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

and literary product, was a young man when the Civil War was on, and it was his fortune then to come into contact with President Lincoln and to learn many things about him from others who knew him well. All these facts are dwelled upon with clarity and in a distinctly descriptive style.

Mr. Ulrich conceived his first idea of the book he has written when a student in the University of Michigan. While there, in 1863, he wrote a paper on constitutional government in representative democracy. His book is indeed worthy of appreciative attention and should be in the possession of every student.

(Postal Review, Chicago, June, 1917)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(Manchester, N. H., Daily Mirror and American, January 8, 1917)

This new and very complete Life of Abraham Lincoln is dedicated to the Press Club of Chicago, which bears in its hands the ever brilliant torch of intelligence, knowledge and liberty that enlightens the world and defends the rights of the people. It is an exhaustive book, perhaps the greatest ever yet written upon Lincoln. The author says, "In order to comprehend the character of the great reformers one must realize and admit that outside the control of man there exists a universal mind acting above and beyond human foresight, but using as instruments suitable personages to accomplish great and far-reaching results in order to gain a certain undefined object which dominates them. The lives of these men carry out to its legitimate purpose, a principle, thus fulfilling the designs of a universal governing power superior to themselves, as one great author has said, 'Nature knows no greater power than that of one great strong man.'"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

(Kalamazoo, Michigan, Advocate, April 11, 1919)

These are the days when thinking people give the subject of constitutions more thought than they did before the league of Nations was asking for attention. The other time the U. S. Constitution was the center of all interest was when Lincoln piloted this nation through difficulty. It is not unusual today to hear the question: "What would Lincoln say?" We cannot know just what he would say about a league of nations or the new dry amendment, but in his book

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

"Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government," Bartow A. Ulrich, very well gives us many of Lincoln's principles and theories that are very timely at present.

Mr. Ulrich is a lawyer and author. He first met Abraham Lincoln when he was seven years old, an invited guest did not come and he was hurriedly awakened, dressed and directed to complete the required number to dance the quadrille at his sister's party. They were neighbors in Springfield. The last time he met Lincoln was in February, before Lincoln's assassination.

Among the interesting subjects treated in this book are: "Lincoln and Douglas," "Lincoln on the Temperance Question," "Organization of the Republican Party," "Graft in the National Government," "Comparison of the Different Kind of Governments," "Power of the Executive," "The Referendum," "Stability of Our Constitution," "Limitations of State Constitution," "The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine."

The text and history of the constitutions of many nations are given. Every student of the league of nations plan will find this a helpful book.

Augusta, Me., June 28, 1884.

B. A. Ulrich, Esq., Chicago, Ill.:

My Dear Sir: Accept my sincere thanks for your kind letter to the press, a copy of which you have sent me.

Very truly yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mentor, O., July 26, 1880.

Mr. B. A. Ulrich, 110 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir: Yours of the 24th inst. enclosing proof slips of your Treatise on Representative Democracy, is received. I regret that I have not time to read it carefully and critically, but I have glanced over its leading points enough to see that it is of importance. If I had the time should be glad to comply with your request and make suggestions on the subject. When it is published please send me a copy. I return the slips.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Lincolniana is further enriched by the large volume recently completed by Bartow A. Ulrich of Chicago, "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" (Chicago Legal News, Chicago). Although Mr. Ulrich has personal recollections of the war president to offer to the reader, his work has not been merely a memoir, but a study of Lincoln's political career with reference to the preservation of constitutional government. This great political object is considered exhaustively by Mr. Ulrich in the second part of his book, where he analyzes and compares various collections of organic law. It may be noted that in the question of sovereignty as between American state and nation, he, with John Marshall, justifies the doctrine of federate indivisibility on legal rather than equitable grounds.—Chicago Daily News, Oct. 25, 1916.

Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich,
40 N. Dearborn Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

My Dear Mr. Ulrich:

Please accept my sincere thanks for the copy of Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government which you were kind enough to send me. I am very sure that Mr. Lincoln would have liked to be connected with the forward movements in constitutional government, especially those designed to secure justice to children and to women.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

JULIA C. LATHROP.





AUGUST LOUIS ULRICH, 1816



MRS. HENRIETTE ULRICH (nee Riesenkampf), 1816

REVIEWS AND LETTERS

Bartow Adolphus Ulrich, lawyer and author, was born at Fishkill, N. Y., Feb. 12, 1840, son of Augustus Louis and Henriette (von Riesenkampf), daughter of Justus Johann von Riesenkampf, Collector of Port of Reval, Russia, Ulrich, and grandson of Hofrath J. A. H. Ulrich, a professor and at one time head of the University of Jena. His father, who had been a merchant of Petrograd, Russia, came to America in 1818 and built a cloth factory at Fishkill, N. Y., which he owned in association with the first John Jacob Astor and other New Yorkers. The son was educated in the public schools of Springfield, Ill., the University of Heidelberg, and at Winbourne, in Dorsetshire, England. He was graduated LL. B. at the law school of the University of Michigan in 1864. He practiced in Chicago many years, and also engaged in the real estate business. In recent years, he has devoted himself almost exclusively to his private interests, and writing. In 1893 he went to Europe and made an exhaustive study of the various forms of municipal government, interviewing officials of different cities. He is a close student of civics and literature, and he is always listened to with respect. He is the author of "Treatise on Government" (1865), which was used as a campaign document for Lincoln in 1864; "Victor: A Dramatic Cantata" (1880); "Political Influence of Germans and Their Destiny in America" (1884); "How Should Chicago Be Governed?" (1893); "Essays on Christ Jesus" (1909), and "Abraham Lincoln and Constitutional Government" (1916), besides a number of scholarly articles contributed to the newspapers and magazines. With Lincoln he enjoyed a personal acquaintance. He knew him when in Springfield and later met him in Washington, in 1865. He is a member of the Press Club of Chicago. He was married March 31, 1864, to Helen Amelia, daughter of William S. Russel, of Brighton, Mich., and has six children, and twelve grandchildren and one great grandchild.

"Men of Illinois."

OBITUARY

AUGUST LOUIS ULRICH

FATHER OF BARTOW A. ULRICH

DIED—At Glenham, Dutchess County, on the 16th of September, A. D. 1841, after a lingering illness, borne with Christian resignation, August Louis Ulrich, Esq., proprietor of the Glenham factory, and elder of the Reformed Dutch Church of Glenham. By this afflictive dispensation of an all-wise Providence, a large and interesting family been bereaved of its head, an extensive circle of friends of a greatly esteemed member, and the church on earth of one of its most spirited, and active, and zealous office-bearers.

Mr. Ulrich was a highly cultivated gentleman, a generous and warm-hearted friend, a devoted, and liberal, and spirited Christian.

OBITUARY

To the church and social circle alike, an ornament and a blessing. The one he loved and supported with his prayers and his purse; the other, enlivened and instructed from the stores of highly cultivated mind. He was a native of Germany. His birth-place was Jena, in whose university he received his education, and from where he went a man of business, in quest of knowledge and of wealth. The life he led and the business he engaged in, made him acquainted with men and manners, in many of the cities of Europe. Moscow, St. Petersburg and London have at different times been the places of his residence. For the last eighteen or twenty years he has resided in the United States, and for the last fourteen or fifteen, in the place where he breathed his last.

But chiefly as an active and zealous Christian must we pay the tribute of respect to our departed friend. Brought up in the Lutheran tenets as there observed, he passed the greater part of his life in ignorance of spiritual Christianity. On settling in Glenham, however, he attended at the ministrations of the Rev. W. S. Heyer, pastor of the Reformed Dutch Church of Fishkill Landing, and under his ministry was brought to see the error of his former sentiments and practices, and led to devote himself anew to the day of his death, maintained the walk and conversation of a consistent Christian. In that service he was permitted rejoicingly to live and labor for many years, and in triumphantly having served his generation, "to fall to sleep."

The zeal and perseverance of the departed servant, within the last few years of his life, were blessed as the instrumentality of establishing, creating and getting into successful operation the Reformed Dutch Church of Glenham. Seeing and feeling the importance of having religious privileges brought home to a large population caring for none of these things, he set himself determinately to work, and labored indomitably to accomplish this praiseworthy object, and he lived to see this desire of his heart fully realized. The church is his monument, and sweet will be his memory there, while Christ and his cause are dear to his people. And who can tell but that his glad spirit will be privileged, as time and death gather their trophies to the grave, to welcome rejoicingly to the abodes of the blessed, uncounted numbers of redeemed souls, of whom it shall be written, they were "born there."

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.

OBITUARY

JOHANN HEINRICH ULRICH GRANDFATHER OF BARTOW A. ULRICH

The University of Jena, now 355 years old, is one of the smaller, but none the less renowned German universities. Last summer it had 2,060 students. Founded in 1558 by Elector Johann Friedrich, it began to prosper only after the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), reaching its flourishing epoch under Karl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. This enlightened Duke—since 1815 Grand Duke—who ruled from his eighteenth year (1775) to his death (1828), and had Goethe for his advisor and friend, did a great deal to make Jena the principal seat of science and art in Germany. Schiller, Fichte, Wm. v. Humboldt, Schelling, Hegel, the two Schlegels, etc., were all for a time of the faculty. They gave Jena a renown that has so far proved imperishable. Among the worthy professors of that epoch, we find one who was, almost from the beginning of Karl August's reign a well merited member of the philosophical faculty until his death in 1813.

Johann Heinrich Ulrich was born in the city of Rudolstadt April 16, (26) 1746. Rudolstadt, now a city of 13,000 inhabitants, was since 1599 the residence of the ruling Princes of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Ulrich's father, Friedrich Nikolaus Ulrich, was principal of the local gymnasium. His mother, Margereta Susanna Fitz, was a daughter of the Mayor. They were married June 14, 1742, and Johann August Heinrich was their second child and oldest son.

After having been carefully educated and prepared for higher studies, as was natural with such parents, he entered the highest position of honor and dignity that a man can attain in a German university.

He reached an age of 66 years, 9 months, 12 days, dying highly honored in Jena, February 4, 1813.

CHARACTER OF PROFESSOR ULRICH

In the first place, Prof. Ulrich must have been a good husband and father. The history of his posterity shows that he gave his children a good education, and that he kindled in them gentlemanly self-respect, and love of intellectual culture for its own sake, at the same time not neglecting the religious side of their minds.

He was a strict disciplinarian, which was very necessary in those times, when there was on the one hand, undoubtedly much enthusiasm in the student body, but, on the other hand, much ruffianism; we know how Goethe disliked the ways and manners of the students. Prof. Ulrich repressed disorders with a firm hand.

No better testimony than the Duke's own proclamation can be cited to show that Karl August, as well as Goethe, appreciated his services. In announcing to the academic citizens, the appointment of Prof. Ulrich as "Protector" of the university, the Duke makes use

OBITUARY

of the following most laudatory terms, which we translate from the Latin of the text:

"* * * We rejoice all the more that from the hands of such a good man (Prof. Fuchs) the insignia of government should now pass to his colleague, Joh. Aug. Heinrich Ulrich, a doctor of philosophy, a professor of ethics and politics; a man, not less distinguished by wisdom and discretion, than by grace and politeness of speech; a man, so zealous to have this burden upon him, of which he might well expect to be free. It becomes then your duty, citizens, to labor diligently that this man may never regret having accepted the office; a man whose conscientiousness in keeping the laws, whose wisdom in holding discipline according to their precepts, whose watchfulness and strictness in preventing lawlessness have long been known to us through many proofs.

Given under date of Feb. 4, 1918, just exactly three years before Ulrich's death.

As early as 1767 he got his degree of M. A., to which was later added that of Ph. D. His thesis was "*Dissertatio qua sistit notionem certitudinis magis evolutam*," developing more clearly the idea of certainty; this is the oldest of his writings as found in the university library, of Jena. He published it again the same and the next year, enlarged to four parts, and also a Latin essay about "the art of thinking, as emulating the sublime simplicity of the principal mathematicians."

For a young man of 21 years these were certainly very remarkable works to write. It is, then, only natural that he should soon have become a lecturer extraordinary (assistant professor); and as early as 1777 we find him among the "*professores publici ordinarii*," i. e., the full-fledged professors of his alma mater.

In 1783, June 29, he married Martha Caroline Paulsen, the daughter of a prominent merchant of Jena, who rose to the dignity of Mayor. They had seven children, the second of which immigrated to the United States, and here became the father of Mr. Bartow A. Ulrich of Chicago, Ill., and Mr. Edward Von R. Ulrich, formerly of Springfield, Ill.; Mrs. David Mack, wife of David Mack (attorney), Carthage, Ill.; Mrs. J. E. C. Dorsnees, D. D.; Mrs. Wondell of Carthage, Ill., and Mrs. Prat Harvey Brigham.

In the year of his marriage Prof. Ulrich received the title of Aulic Councillor to the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, to which was added, in 1804, the title of Privy Councillor to the Duke of Saxe-Gotha.

His standing among his colleagues is shown by the fact that in 1801 they elected him Dean of the Faculty; and in 1910, Duke Karl August, himself the "*Rector of Magnificus*," made his Protector, i. e., practical ruler of the university, his predecessor, Prof. Fuchs, having resigned. He thus, occupied, toward the end of his career.



ADDISON G. PROCTER

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS AT TIME OF CIVIL WAR.

ADDRESS
DELIVERED BY

HON. ADDISON C. PROCTOR

DECEMBER 9, 1920

BEFORE THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Ladies and Gentlemen:

My subject this evening takes us to the Western Border during the Civil War. We are all more or less conversant with the affairs on our Southern Border at that time, but very little has been written and very little said about the troubles on our Western Border, and they were of vast importance to this nation. They involve this Indian question, the threat from the Indians out in that Western region. I shall tell you how these matters were handled by Mr. Lincoln, who handled the thing as a matter of very great importance to this country.

To go back to the original movement of these Indians, during Gen. Andrew Jackson's administration, for those eight years, the most important question before him was the disposing of these Indians of the South and East. The South was very much disturbed over the Indian question. They were a menace to Southern settlement. John C. Calhoun arranged years before this great territory between the Red River and the Upper Arkansas should be devoted to civilized Indians, and that those Indians should have an absolute title to that property if they would go there. Calhoun had some ulterior motive in that, I suppose. He wanted to see it was not too quickly settled, but the Indians were allowed then to go to that far off region and hold it for all time. The Crees, the Seminoles, the Choctaws, and several of those tribes that were so disturbing to the South were moved under military arrangement brought about by President Jackson. But the Cherokees presented a different problem. I was associated with the Cherokees, so my talk will be mostly along that line. The Cherokees were making a great advance towards civilization. They were the first Indians to interview the white man, and to go and settle among them and do a part of their work. They wanted carpenters, and wagon-makers, and blacksmiths and good farmers, and they offered as an inducement that any white man coming there and marrying a Cherokee woman should have all the privileges of any member of the tribe. That was their first inducement, and a great many first-class white men, mechanics, went there and married Cherokee women, and became members of the tribe with all of its advantages that any other member of the tribe

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

had. So the Cherokees presented a peculiar condition. They were moving towards civilization. They were of that class of people who, everybody believed, were going to lead in the way of civilization a great body of Indians. So there was a great deal of interest felt in the Cherokees as a nation. They were of that class of people that religious folk took a great interest in, and they wanted to establish missions among them, and when the proposition came up to move those people on to what was called the Great Western Desert, there were a good many protests among the Cherokees. Now, the Cherokees, were peculiarly fortunate in this, that they had for a chief John Ross. I suppose perhaps John Ross, if he were living today and lived in Oklahoma would probably be United States Senator from there. He was a man of splendid ability, a real statesman, a man of vision, a wonderful man. He was a half-breed. His father was full-blooded Scotch and his mother a full-blooded Cherokee Indian, and so he had all the qualities of the Scotchman and all the intrigues of the Indian. President Jackson sent Gen. Scott down to meet John Ross, and make a treatment to move his tribe off into the far off regions of the West. Of course there was a long, long controversy over the terms of that movement, but it finally resulted in this. They were about three years bringing about an understanding, and the understanding was something like this: That the lands of the Far West should be donated for all time to the Cherokee tribe, that the lands that they were about to leave should be sold for their benefit, and that the fund from the sale of that land was to be left in the hands of the government and the government was to pay interest each six months to the Cherokee's treasury to be used in the building of their homes, furnishing farm implements and carrying on their government, building roads, and such matters as that. The government arranged that all of this interest should be devoted in those directions to the upbuilding of the nation in the Far West that was looking towards civilization. And so, with that understanding, they permitted their lands to be sold, and were transported across the country down the rivers over to the far off region which is now included in the State of Oklahoma.

John Ross was peculiarly bright in some things. He had a vision. He was a man of vision, and a statesman. And in the contract describing the boundaries of this nation which they were about to occupy, he had this inserted: "This Federal Government agrees to protect for all time these people within these lines from all enemies, both from without and within, as long as grass grows and water runs." That was inserted in the treaty by John Ross and it played a very important part later, as we shall see.

After all these arrangements had been completed the Indians were moved. John Ross held the contract for the moving. The government

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

gave the whole contract to him so that his people should be fairly cared for in the movement. John Ross held that contract at \$12.50 a head for all of the Cherokees, and about 20,000 of them were included at that time. When they got ready to go he arranged to take them all up by steamboat from the Tennessee River, where their reservation was, along the Tennessee River, and they were moved down the Tennessee into Ohio, and from the Ohio into the Mississippi, and up to the Arkansas to the very threshold of their new reservation, landing on their own reservation. It was done so easily and comfortably that it was almost unnoticed; but, if you read history today—that is one of the peculiar things about history, they will tell you what an outrageous piece of work that was, that those Indians should be taken from their homes and taken out into the Great North American Desert overland, when the fact is, that they went in steamboats and were beautifully cared for all the way and landed on their own reservation. As one of the Cherokees told me years afterwards, it was a perfect picnic. And so, that is history.

Now, there are a good many things in history the same way. The fact of it is, the government did the square thing by the Cherokees, as square a transaction as any business transaction they ever conducted. That is the absolute truth about this, and yet history will tell you that it was an outrageous piece of business.

Now, arriving in the Cherokee nation—that was in 1838—the whole country opened up to them beautifully. It was a perfect sea of grass. The Arkansas in some places is twelve miles wide, and this black-bottomed land, with grass two or three feet high, the richest land you ever saw in the world. The Cherokees saw this and saw that there was a great chance there to develop. It was a country well watered, well timbered and with great rich soil, and everything conducive to make a good settlement, and so those Indians took right hold, as so many white men would take hold to make a new community in that wild country. They saw it was well adapted for stock raising. The hay could be raised and put in the stacks at \$1 a ton. Think of that, you who have paid \$30 a ton for it; all the hay you wanted put up could be put up for \$1 a ton. These people went into stock raising, and in about ten or twelve years they had developed so fast, and become so rich they absolutely began to look at themselves and say, "What will we do with our money?" They were getting rich so fast, faster than any other community in the West, and the question came to them like any other person, "What am I going to do with this surplus?" And here is the strange part of it. They went to work and invested it, commenced to invest it in slaves. They did not know what else to do with their money. There were no automobiles in those days. They wanted something that meant luxury, and they invested their money in black men, in

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

slaves. You might think that a most peculiar thing at first, but here is the peculiar thing about the Indian: the Indian is the most conceited creature in the world, he is all egotism. It is "Me, big Indian," everywhere. These Cherokee Indians realized that they were a superior race, and they wanted to have somebody that they could look down on. They wanted to have somebody to whom they could say, "Go, and he goeth, come, and he cometh." That was the Indian here.

Now, when those Indians began to get these slaves it appealed to just that quality that was the weakest spot in the Indian character, that conceit. They said, "I have got a slave," or "I have got so many slaves," like we say, "I have an automobile, and you have not." That was the feeling that came over these Indians. The aristocrat was the man who owned the most slaves. Now, that had a most peculiar influence, it began to be the fad of that whole nation. The man who did not own a slave was not in it for anything socially. Those things went on, and time rolled along, and the people began to get rich, and the slaves began to increase all over the country. I remember one place in Louis Ross' home. I passed it one day and there was an enclosure of about ten acres with a beautiful home in the center, and the whole back end of that lot was full of little cabins containing his slaves, about thirty cabins full of slaves belonging to one man and his family, that man was Louis Ross. That was only one instance out of many.

Now, that slavery question grew just the same as this automobile craze has grown with us today. Everybody expected to get one. One fellow said that he was as good as his neighbor and he had to have it; and that was the feeling among those Indians.

Now, up to the time of the Civil War, that was one of the most thrifty communities imaginable. The condition of that nation in 1860 was, they were a people of about 23,000, and there were besides them 1,000 white men married among them, they owned 4,000 slaves, and as to their financial condition, they had not a dollar of public debt. The government owed them five million odd dollars for the sale of their lands in the East, which was to their credit. As I say, they had no public debt, they were altogether free in every way from those things. They owned at that time 300,000 head of cattle, horses and mules. Fancy 20,000 people owning 300,000 head of cattle, horses and mules. And, so all the way through they had become one of the richest and most prosperous communities in the whole West, and they owned, as I say, these numbers of slaves. But there was their undoing. By and by there came rumors of war. Mr. Lincoln had been elected President, and the first thing the South did was to send emissaries right into that region. They came from the South and said to the Indians something like this: "You belong with us, you are with the South. You are slaveholders. You have property interests. Mr. Lincoln's idea is to

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

destroy your interest in this property. These slaves are yours as much as your horses and cattle and mules, and Mr. Lincoln proposes that they should be destroyed, that you cannot hold property in slaves." And the first thing you knew that influence went right through the Cherokee nation and they said, "We belong with the South."

Mr. Lincoln at that time was, of course, a pretty busy man. He had not time to give to the tribes, the Indian tribes, and their borders, probably the line of the Potomac was about all he could hold in '61; and those Indians listened to those emissaries from the South, and the first thing we knew 3,000 of those Cherokees had enlisted in the Confederate Army and were at the battles of Pea Ridge and Cole's Hill, and there they met other Indians and got roped into the war movement. Coming back to the Cherokee nation after those two battles, with a lot of other Indians they swept that whole Cherokee country, just devastated the whole region, just ruined everything and everybody not with them. It was the most terrible work of destruction that could be imagined. They devastated the whole country. There were about 10,000 Unionists there who felt Mr. Lincoln would stand by them, and must stand by them, and they waited, and all at once this great avalanche of opposition came, and wiped the whole Union element out of that Nation. They came on to us in Kansas, 10,000 of them, men, women and children in the midst of the coldest and most awful winter we ever experienced in the West, the winter of 1861 and '62. One morning I was at Emporia, Kansas, and saw the slopes down the river and the whole slopes were alive with Indians. There were some on ponies and children in blankets looking like mummies, and there they were, this great multitude of people getting into the timber and getting into the shelter of the timber on the banks of the river. It was an awful sight. We went out to look at them, and they had had two weeks of traveling across that country, 200 miles, and the wolves followed them. Children had died or were frozen to death, some of them frozen almost in their mother's arms, and as these children died they threw them to the wolves to keep the wolves back. I don't know of anything more horrible than the things those Indians endured. They had left good homes, they had left everything, had lost everything, and there they were, refugees, and without anything. The people of Kansas were awfully generous. Oh, how those women took hold and got blankets and clothing and rushed over to save those children at Emporia. If you had two blankets you had to give the Indians one of them, and everyone of the women took hold and went over to the poor Indians to give them shelter and to warm them as quickly as they could. It was a dreadful sight to see those Indians driven from their prosperous Nation in the West and be-

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

come refugees half-frozen and starving. It was a sickening picture.

Well, the first thing we did, we notified the President. The President called up Fort Leavenworth and said, "Send all the blankets and fuel they need right away." That was Mr. Lincoln's first movement. "Be sure and have them sent immediately," was the message. That was all right, and in a few days down came a great lot of government wagons loaded with blankets and food and all kinds of goods for them, and they were taken into camps and after they had been there about a week or ten days there came up a body of Sac and Fox Indians. They were high grade Indians. They had a reservation about thirty miles down the river below us. They came right up with their chiefs and head men, handsome looking fellows and fine horses, all fixed up in beads and feathers. They rode over to that camp, and it was a sight. I stood and looked at those Indians. They gathered the Cherokees around them, all wrapped up in blankets, and they sat in a circle and the head men of those Indians stood in the center and the chief held out both hands and each man in the crowd shook hands, and he said, "The Great Father has given us comfortable homes. He is good to us. You are his children. Come and enjoy our homes with us. Our fires are burning brightly. Our Great Father has a big heart, he will take you back to your homes in the spring, but we will care for you till spring comes. Come with us. Our fires are burning brightly for you. Let us help you, brothers, as you would help us in the same condition." The poor Indians sat there with the tears running down their cheeks and said, "We will go with you." And so the Sac and Fox Indians came up with a great herd of ponies and wagons and took those 10,000 refugees into their camp, and cared for them during the winter. It was a beautiful spirit, the spirit of brotherly feeling. It was a charming thing to see. They said in their talk, "Brothers." That was their first salutation, "Brothers." There is something about the Indian character, after all, that is very touching.

Well, those Indians remained there with the Sacs and Foxes during that winter. Then, of course, came that condition that John Ross had inserted in that treaty on the part of the government, "And we will protect you within those lines from enemies both from without and within as long as grass grows and water runs." There it was. Mr. Lincoln had that before him. There was only one thing to do, put those Indians back there and protect them. There was no other alternative. Mr. Ross had seen what might happen, twenty-five years before, and that whole matter took that shape. Mr. Lincoln saw that there was only one thing to do, live up to every line and word of that treaty. Mr. Lincoln was square in all his dealings, always square. He never hesitated for one moment. (Applause.)

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

All at once I got a notice that he had appointed me to take charge of the moving of these Indians back to that nation. It came as a surprise to me, it was entirely unsolicited, and it was at very great sacrifice that I took it. But he said, "I want the Indians moved back to that nation, I want them cared for. I want them restored to their homes as soon as it can be done safely, but in the meantime I will see that they are properly protected until such time as they can be taken back home." My instructions were to buy all the provisions needed, and to get all the transportation necessary, to meet them at Fort Scott and take them all back to Fort Gibson, the military headquarters. I was employed at that for two years and a half. We moved those Indians back. We had wagons and provisions, and we moved them down through Missouri and Missouri was being torn all up in consequence of the Civil War. I suppose we saw some of the most dreadful things through Missouri as we were trying to get through there. We were well guarded. We had the Army of the Frontier with 5,000 troops to carry the Indians back, but Missouri was a regular hotbed. It was terrible. I don't believe from the time we left Fort Scott until we got to Fort Gibson we saw a single house that a man would dare sleep in over night. Everybody had to take sides. He had to be one thing or the other, or he had to get out. Nobody was allowed to live round home there, he had to be one thing or the other, there was no room for neutrality; so the whole region was just torn and torn in every direction by that awful Civil War. I never saw such devastation in my life. Everything seemed to be going to destruction as far as one could see.

Well, we finally got into the Cherokee Nation at the upper end, and there was that same devastation. Those raiding parties had gone through the region, driving away all the cattle, horses and mules; everything was gone. Scattered farms had been destroyed, and fences had been burned. It was a most heart-rending sight to see the condition of that nation that only a year before was a perfect paradise of prosperity. It was awful.

When we got to the capital city I rode out to the Council Chamber of the Cherokees, a handsome building that the Government had put up for them. I went into the Council Chamber, into the room. All the desks were torn up and documents thrown all over the floor. It looked as though a tornado had gone through and torn everything up. Only one thing was in place, in that whole building, and that was a picture of Sequoia, the man who invented the Cherokee language. His picture stood back of the Speaker's desk, on the wall, and that was the only thing left in the place. Everything else there was scattered all over the room. Every door was open, burst open, and that was in the capital town of the Cherokee nation. I rode out

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

with two or three fellows to the Seminary, the Young Ladies' Seminary that the Government had built a few years before at a cost of something like \$50,000. It was a beautiful brick building that had a library of 6,000 volumes, all beautifully bound books, selected by the Government agent. They had forced the doors open and they had taken those books in the great open hall. They had taken them and dumped them there. They had taken the cases containing the books and pitched them forward on the floor and the books were lying there in piles. They had taken the astronomical and chemical apparatus and thrown them all about, globes and glasses and all of those things that cost much money, they had all been thrown into piles; and not satisfied with that, they had pushed the doors open and pushed a lot of cattle into the room, right in the Assembly Room. When I got there cows and calves were lying all around on the books. I never saw anything like it. The Government had spent an immense amount of money to get those things just as high grade as possible, and there was the whole thing lying in muck. You could not use a broom, you had to use a shovel to clean it up, and there it was, right in the heart of the Cherokee Nation, a nation that one year before had the Seminary full of young people.

Well, we moved the Indians down twenty miles through to Fort Gibson and put them in camp. The Army of the Frontier took charge of the Indians and put them into camp, and we got a body of the Indians, the men and women together, while we took the men and enlisted them in the Union Army.

I got together with these Cherokee chiefs and I told them what the Government intended to do with them. I had the meeting with the Chiefs and they sat round there and Louis Downey, the Chief, stood alongside of me. I repeated Mr. Lincoln's views of the whole business, told them that that was my business, and that I represented Mr. Lincoln. I told them that the Government was ready to carry out every part of its treaty, that it was ready to protect them within their borders. I told them that the Government was in trouble, in terrible trouble, that the Government would be fair and square with them, and all it asked was that they remained loyal. Downey touched me on the shoulder and he said, "Can't you think of some other word you can use instead of 'loyal?'" I said, "Yes, the Government asks you to be friendly." He said, "Well, that is better." He said, "I will tell you, that new word, they were afraid of that, they were afraid it might be putting them on an equality with the negroes, and they were afraid of that." I said, "If you will organize this force here and hold this nation, none of you will be moved but you will be left here to protect your own homes and your own people." They agreed to it, and we raised 3,000 splendid soldiers,

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

three regiments of first class soldiers. The Government from Fort Leavenworth sent muskets and uniforms, and a lot of officers who had had training in the Service, and there were three good infantry regiments raised there, and held to protect that country, and they with the Army of the Frontier under General Blunt held that country.

Now, they held that country until the war was over. The line of demarkation between the Confederate and the Union was right there at our doors, right at the Arkansas River. Every morning, almost, we had a fight. It was one big warfare, one continued warfare right along the Arkansas line. We had troops at every crossing, and so all those years, those two years, we were simply holding the line to save that nation to itself.

I wanted to call Mr. Lincoln's attention to the facts, and I said to the Secretary of the Interior: "I want the President to know it is costing us a thousand dollars a day to feed these people as economically as it can be done." Mr. Lincoln replied, "You treat those people kindly, see that they are properly cared for, properly protected and returned to their homes as soon as it is possible to do so." Those were Mr. Lincoln's instructions. Indeed, he had a big heart. He knew the trouble we were going through, but the money it cost was no object at all. He said, "Never mind the cost, treat them kindly." (Applause.)

Well, the war finally stopped. After nearly three years of that service the war ceased. We disbanded those regiments and took those people to their homes and the Cherokees started in just exactly where they started twenty-five years before, absolutely with nothing. Their cattle were gone, scattered everywhere over the whole West. They had been stolen from them in every direction. Nothing was left, and they started in the way they came in twenty-five years before. It was a strange thing.

Now, you are asking what became of those slaves. Now, there is a most interesting feature of the whole thing. In that awful struggle between the two elements the slaves played no part. The Confederates could not use them, they were afraid to take them over their lines, and the Unionists were too poor to do anything for them. They could not feed themselves. They had lost everything and they were between the upper and nether millstone, 4,000 of them. Now, what did they do? There was no wireless message in those days, but those negroes came together just as if they had got a message. They came together and they moved off in one body into the Ozark Mountains, about fifty or seventy-five miles away, away from all roads and highways and byways, away off by themselves clean out of sight and out of mind. Nobody knew exactly what had become of them, they were simply gone. It was a queer condition; nobody could tell where

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

they had gone. You remember Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation gave the 100 days that if the war had not ceased before the first of January he should declare Emancipation. Those negroes heard of that somehow. How they heard of that I cannot imagine, for there was no mail going through there in those days, but somehow those negroes learned that there were 100 days and then freedom. They calculated the days from day to day that would bring them to the first day of January. Along in the morning of the first of January I was looking out from my Agency building, and the whole roadways were crowded with black men, women and children, the women with their great bandanas round their necks, all walking. They had sacks over the shoulders containing all their belongings, and the whole crowd was moving down the road into the Fort. Well, it was indeed a sight. Nobody knew where they had come from, or who they were until we came face to face. They made a great mass in front of the Agency building, and I wish we could have had one of those motion pictures, it would be indeed a picture. They came in front of the building and the spokesman came up to me and he said, "Well, boss, here we is. Mr. Lincoln says we are free today. Is dat right?" I answered, "Yes, you are free." He asked, "All the women and children?" I replied, "Yes, all free, you are your own masters now." "Well," he replied, "what are we going to do?" I asked, "What do you want to do?" He says, "We are mighty hungry. We are willing to work." I said, "Well, boys, let me ask you a question. Will you folks go into the army and help to protect this country?" He replied, "Yes, Boss, that is what we will do if you will take care of the women and children." I said, "We will see what we can do. We will take care of you." They went off and went into camp, and we notified Governor Crawford of Kansas that we could recruit a good lot of soldiers, which was quite as important to Kansas as to us because Kansas had her burden to bear and Governor Crawford sent a lot of Kansas fighters and they organized two full regiments of black men out of that group, two full regiments of slaves. They sent down uniforms and arms, and they were completely equipped, and in about thirty or forty days they were sent to the front and those negro troops marched out of Fort Gibson with a big drum corps at the head of it in their new uniforms and their shining muskets and their glistening bayonets, and they commenced to sing "John Brown's Body Lies a'Moldering in the Grave, and His Soul Goes Marching On; Glory, Glory, Halleluiah," and the whole crowd sang it there, and it was enough to lift you off your feet with enthusiasm to see those black men going to the front. And that was the exodus of slavery among the Indians. That was Mr. Lincoln's work.

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

As these things come back to me I especially think of those negroes going out there singing the John Brown song. I knew John Brown well, and it seemed to me to be most appealing as that "Glory, Halleluiah" rang out over that valley. I guess you could have heard it for five miles.

Now, those things are all a part of history. These Cherokees went back to their homes and, as I say, they started where they commenced twenty-five years before, but they did not lose their courage. They had lost their slaves, but they had not lost their courage. They took those black men and gave them a district to themselves and treated them exactly as well as they did the Red man. They gave him his land and his farm, and today that nation is worth on an average, each family, \$20,000, and I believe it is today the richest community in the United States. The discovery of oil there made them rich, and so that Cherokee Nation stands today, I believe, the most prosperous nation in the whole of the United States. As I say, the average family is worth \$20,000. Now, that goes to show that the Indian, after all, can recover. It is one of the most wonderful things I ever saw, a nation lifted up as they were in prosperity, prostrated to the ground in a year, and getting to its feet again and going forward. It shows that the Indian has something great in him.

Now, I am going to tell you of an interview which I had with President Lincoln which I think will interest you. There was a little scandal connected with the Army of the Frontier. These cattle that I have told you about were scattered all over the country. Nobody owned them. There were five or ten thousand head in sight all up and down the valley. The Army of the Frontier coming down through that region, of course, consumed a great deal of beef, amounting to \$500 or \$600 a day. They would send down a squad of mounted men and they would corral them and shoot them down, and that was all right, only this, that instead of turning that beef over to the quartermaster and having it turned out to the different companies it was turned over to a contractor. Nobody knew who the contractor was, but there was a contractor there, or some one representing him, and he had contracted at five cents a pound all the beef on the hoof needed by the Army, as I say, at a payment of about \$500 or \$600 a day. It did not cost anybody anything. The men went out and gathered it, and the Quartermaster took it, but the rest of it was left to the contractor. Well, of course, that meant a divide. That was plain enough. The people knew this was going on but they did not want to be mixed up in it. The fellows were all good fellows, always liberal, always keeping a canteen on the wall, and nobody made any stir about it. But President Lincoln, somehow,

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

got word about it that the Government was paying for cattle that belonged to them. Somebody evidently had sent word to Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Lincoln investigated it, and the first thing we knew Blunt was removed from the command of that Army. It was a great surprise to us all. Blunt was very popular. They did not like the idea of having Blunt removed, and there was a movement to get Blunt restored. It was a tremendous movement, and behind it were the officers of the Army of the Frontier, the Governor of Kansas, and others. I happened to be at Washington about a month after in the Interior Department, and I dropped up to see our then Congressman, and he said, "I have an engagement with Mr. Lincoln as 11 o'clock, and I have a lot of papers I am going to take up to show him. They are petitions asking for the reinstatement of General Blunt." He had them in a long envelope with a lot of rubber bands. The bundle was about three or four inches high. He said, "Let us go and talk with the Old Man and see what he has to say about it." I said, "I don't want to have anything to do with it." He said, "We will go up and see what the Old Man has to say." We went up. He had an appointment at 11 o'clock and we went to see the President. You know, going to see Mr. Lincoln was like going into an old-fashioned country lawyer's office. There were no frills or egotism. He received us in just a simple, plain way. It was just meeting a good, straightforward, clean man and having business with him. We walked up to the desk and Mr. Lincoln looked up. Well, we had our greetings and Mr. Wilder came up and laid the package on the table in front of Mr. Lincoln and commenced to take off the rubber bands. Mr. Lincoln looked up and said, "What have you there, Wilder?" He said, "Mr. President, I have got here petitions from men in Kansas asking you to reinstate General Blunt to command of the Army of the Frontier." Mr. Lincoln held up his hands and said, "You need not take off any more of those rubber bands." Mr. Wilder replied, "Mr. President, these petitions really represent the Republican Party in Kansas. Here is a very strong letter from the Governor. Here is a petition signed by every member of the Legislature, both Senate and House; here is one from the State Central Committee, one from five of our seven judges, and petitions from almost every officer of the Army of the Frontier asking you to reinstate General Blunt. They are all your friends, Mr. Lincoln, all your friends. Now, Mr. President, what am I going to say to those people if you won't look at them?" Well, Mr. Lincoln looked up in his quiet way and he says, "Wilder, I have looked into that matter pretty thoroughly. I am satisfied that Blunt is dishonest. Now, that is the long and short of it. There is a divide going on there somewheres. He knew about it, and I believe he is guilty and has guilty knowledge of where that divide comes in. Now, I am

SLAVE HOLDING INDIANS

not going to let any man rest in any authority where I have any doubt about his integrity if I can help it. I will not do it, Wilder, I will not do it." He said, "Now, you ask me what you are going to say to these people. I will tell you what to say to them, Wilder. You can say this, that I have looked into that matter carefully, that I am satisfied that Blunt is dishonest and I will not restore him to his command, and you can say this, further, Wilder," and he kind-of half-whispered it, "they cannot afford to ask me to do it." Well, Wilder did not know what to say. He stood like a schoolboy for a few moments and said, "I suppose, Mr. President, that ends it." We walked out. Anybody who tells you that Mr. Lincoln was easy they ought to see him on such an occasion. We walked out, Wilder and I. I was stopping at the Willard, a little way from the White House, and he did not say a word all the day down. Finally, when I was about to say good-bye to him he said, "Say, Proctor, there is the damnest, smartest politician in this country today. He has more vision than any of you." Now, that is Mr. Lincoln. Don't you ever believe that Mr. Lincoln was easy where there was any conflict between right and wrong. You had to be right to be easy with him. When he said that "Tell them that they cannot afford to ask me to do it—" my, gracious! That meant something. I told that to Roosevelt one day and Roosevelt clapped his hands and said, "That is a good one."

LETTERS OF CONGRATULATION

September 29, 1920.

Senator Warren G. Harding,
Marion, Ohio.

Dear Sir: I consider it a great privilege as one who knew our former great and revered President, Abraham Lincoln, and took part in the campaign for his second election as President, to be able to present my book, "Abraham Lincoln and New Constitutional Governments," in many ways inspired by his noble efforts, to preserve the Constitution in its integrity and the union of States in its entirety.

I am fully convinced, from what I have learned from your past record and speeches, that you, like Lincoln, if elected, will do all in your power to save the Republic of the United States at this critical period in its life from the impending dangers threatening it through the impolitic efforts of the Democratic party, represented by Governor James M. Cox.

You can count on my vote at the coming election. I cast my first vote for President Lincoln, and will gladly assist during the campaign in promoting your election.

Yours respectfully,

BARTOW A. ULRICH.

Marion, Ohio, October 4, 1920.

My dear Mr. Ulrich:

Senator Harding wishes me to thank you for the copy of your interesting book, "Abraham Lincoln and New Constitutional Governments," which you so kindly sent to him. The Senator asks me to say further that he will be glad to have the opportunity to carefully read this book as soon as his time will permit.

The Senator extends to you his cordial good wishes and sincere appreciation of your personal references, as well as assurances of support in the campaign.

Very truly yours,

KATHLEEN LAWLER,
Secretary.

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

[illegible]

